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Iran raid puts EEC line in perspective

The Nine heads of Government made a mess of their debate on the unresolved problems facing the European Community when they met in Luxembourg late last month.

But if there is any consolation, it is that they set aside their alarming family dispute over finance and agriculture and gave pride of place to cohesion on foreign policy.

The shock failure of President Carter's bid to rescue the US hostages in Tehran brought them back to basic issues of European self-assertion.

First and foremost the Common Market heads of government note, in the foreign policy statement, the need, "in these troubled times," for solidarity with the government and people of the United States towards Iran.

They reaffirmed the decision taken a week earlier by their Foreign Ministers to impose a trade embargo on Iran unless there has been progress on the hostages issue by 17 May.

President Carter had been disappointed by this decision, feeling the embargo resolution was couched in terms too lax and half-hearted.

In the wake of the US helicopter rescue bid fiasco the same resolution as reaffirmed at the Luxembourg summit must have been felt to exceed all Mr Carter's expectations of Western Europe.

Nowhere can there have been graver doubts than in Washington, given US feelings that its European allies must have felt they had been taken for a ride in opting for sanctions in good faith that they might thereby be forestalling military escalation of the Iran conflict.

President Carter encouraged them in this view at a time when the rescue bid had already been decided, but anxiety lest this duplicity might backfire in Europe proved entirely misplaced.

Europe, far from decoupling from the United States, has pledged itself to solidarity.

On Iran Western Europe can now be seen to have adopted a common-sense approach from the start and not to have been guilty of the cowardice of which it was accused in America.

The Western European countries took a level-headed estimate of the risks all options entailed and now cut a better figure than Mr Carter and his advisers.

The Luxembourg declaration may have emphasised solidarity with the United States but it included as much of an appeal as a commitment.

Deep-seated anxiety about Mr Carter's conflict strategy has by no means been dispelled by the failure of the airborne rescue bid.

Europe has laid even greater claim to prior consultation (even though it may not have chosen to do so publicly).

The embargo decision is not just words; it exacts energy risks and requires Europe to make economic sacrifices. So Europe has every right to be consulted.

Its call on Mr Carter to draw a strict distinction between the Iran crisis and the Afghanistan conflict assumes increasing importance.

This is partly the objective of Western Europe's reiteration of its proposal for international negotiations on neutral status for Afghanistan, this status being guaranteed by the great powers and its neighbours.

In June, an EEC declaration on the Middle East is to follow. It is intended to make it easier for the Arab world to come to terms with the West.

Common Market heads of government evidently want to make a larger contribution towards conflict strategy, and not at odds with America but in

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Dublin visit

Irish President Patrick Hillery (left) welcomes Bonn President Karl Carstens at Dublin Airport last month. The visit to the Irish Republic is the first official visit by President Carstens since he took office last year. (Photo: dpa)

Compromises on European cash rejected

Lack of generous compromise proposals were not why agreement was not reached over Britain's net contributions to the EEC budget.

What was lacking at the Luxembourg summit was British willingness to compromise.

Mrs Thatcher insisted on all-or-nothing demands that had already been the undoing of the Dublin EEC summit.

In a manner reminiscent of General de Gaulle, she announced, after the failure of budget talks, that Britain would stymie progress on Common Agricultural Policy until agreement had been reached on her demand for a reduction in Britain's net contribution to the EEC budget.

This policy of obstruction condemns the Common Market to stagnation at a moment when world affairs urgently require of it joint political moves and a convincing step in the direction of further European integration.

Britain's objections to Common Agricultural Policy as currently pursued are, it is true, shared by European consumers, Meaningless accumulation of subsidised agricultural surpluses that are sold for a song after costly storage has in any case reached natural limits.

The cost of EEC farm policy, which accounts for about 70 per cent of Common Market spending, has increased at such a rate that before long it will be impossible to raise the cash in the way it has hitherto been available.

Even so, with inflation in the EEC as a whole running at 12 per cent, it will not do to freeze farm price guarantees as proposed by Britain's Iron Lady.

Despite British obstruction the Nine's Agriculture Ministers are sure to reach agreement on modest price increases, although they may have to do so by virtue of a majority ruling as envisaged by the terms of the Treaty of Rome and rendered inoperative by General de Gaulle.

No-one can deny that Common Agricultural Policy has grown top-heavy and that other tasks, such as industrial development in poorer regions, have been relegated to a back-seat role.

Britain's lament about its contribution to the EEC budget overlooks the fact that, to a large extent, Whitehall has only itself to blame.

Britain will insist on special arrangements and has failed to adjust to European markets. It cannot, at one and the same time, be both inside and outside the European Community.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 30 April 1980)

Nonsense from the Kremlin

One can but hope the Kremlin will sit up and take notice now that such a patient and persistent advocate of detente as Bonn's Herbert Wehner has openly accused Moscow of waging a brutal war of nerves.

Herr Wehner, who is Social Democratic parliamentary party leader in the Bonn Bundestag, has every reason for being so frank.

The hammer blows Moscow has lately aimed at West Germany in general and the Bonn Government in particular, including unbridled and unsubtle threats of making use of Soviet military supremacy, have far exceeded tolerable levels.

No member of the Kremlin leadership can seriously credit the allegations made by *Novosti*, the Soviet press agency. It is tactless, ill-intentioned and untrue to claim that Bonn with its "military designs" is a threat to world peace.

The Federal Republic takes great care to ensure that its military moves are strictly kept to within the framework of the Western alliance.

It has, moreover, proved in the past decade that its desire for detente is not, as *Novosti* claims, mere lip service.

Germans, not only in the Federal Republic but also in the GDR, have over the past decade made sacrifices to world peace the like of which other nations might well not have been prepared to make.

There have been occasions when Moscow has not only accepted but also publicly acknowledged as much, and Bonn's outlook on detente has not changed in the least.

By contrast, the Soviet Union has invaded Afghanistan.

The Soviet war of nerves on the Federal Republic has nothing whatever to do with detente.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 May 1980)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Spending on arms highlights irony of Third World poverty

Efforts to set North-South ties on a firmer footing become little less than scandalous when the level of arms spending in the world is looked at.

The world spends 450bn dollars a year on arms. Less than 5 per cent of this amount is invested in public sector development aid.

What is so weird about this madness is that individual developing countries, and by no means the better off, themselves spend large sums on arms.

The height of the irony is that this is the sector in which the transfer of modern technology from North to South functions best.

Relations between countries that are considered to be rich and those that feel disadvantaged will be as much to the point in the years to come as they are now. The immediate significance of the North-South conflict was evident in the recent Bonn Bundestag debate, with its protestations of good intentions on all sides.

Its immediate importance was also apparent in the memorable UN vote on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Dozens of developing countries condemned the Soviet Union, which is only too keen to cast itself in the role of the Third World's friend (and has often been seen as such in Third World countries).

Soviet intervention in a country that was at least considered to be non-aligned and is certainly among the poorest of the poor prompts a further query (as does the Iranian crisis and crises in the Middle East and in the Third World).

Is it not high time we realised that efforts to set North-South ties on a new and sounder footing should be the keynote of more than just bids to cool down current hot spots?

They must also form the basis of endeavours to forestall further conflict, accompanied as it invariably must be by a growing risk of nuclear escalation.

It is not, by any stretch of the imagination, merely a matter of cash, no matter how urgently the industrialised countries need to substantially increase their financial aid to the Third World.

Comparison with arms expenditure pinpoints nothing less than a scandal. The money the world spends on the military in half a day would be enough to bankroll the entire World Health Organisation programme to eradicate malaria.

The price of a modern battle tank would be enough to build 1,000 classrooms for 30,000 schoolchildren. For the price of a fighter plane 40,000 village dispensaries could be fitted out.

So there is no shortage of funds and no lack of opportunities to save money either.

A reappraisal of the quintessence of the North-South problem is, however, at least as important as more money. The Brandt Commission's report emphasises more clearly than ever before the need for all concerned to regard development aid as a common interest.

In helping the poor to combat their poverty the rich are acting in their own interest. New and more promising markets will be available in which to sell their products.

What is more, greater stability in the Third World will reduce the risk of armed conflict.

Past mistakes must be acknowledged for what they were, however. This is no easy task, as can be seen almost daily in America's reluctance or inability to concede past errors of omission and commission in Iran and elsewhere.

Yet it would be equally wrong to exaggerate the bad conscience the West is at times given to cultivating towards the communist camp on account of its colonial past.

The Soviet Union is by no means beyond reproach even now.

Furthermore, we shall have to learn to live with the consequences of past mistakes. This may prove very expensive, not to say dangerous, and will as a rule take longer than Western patience is prepared to stomach.

Here too current events provide regular instances of what is meant.

A third prerequisite of an effective approach to North-South ties is only gradually coming to light and is likely to prove a tall order.

It is that industrialised countries must resist the temptation to impose ... Third World (or talk it into ...) methods and technology the ... which they themselves are beginning to doubt.

Nuclear power stations are a ... point. So are large-scale industrial projects of other kinds that were ... bought and sold for prestige and ... Both seldom bring benefits for developing countries.

The North must take equal ... to succumb to the temptation to sell the advantages of simpler, ... ised technology based on locally available labour and raw materials.

We ourselves are finding it ... ough to learn this new lesson ... too can only gradually be convinced of its necessity, preferably by virtue of good example the South may ... emulate.

In view of current crises such ... derations may not appear unduly ... ful. Dollars are no use against ... divisions and Cuban mercenaries ... hardly be beaten by new views on ... tive development aid.

But the more the Western industrialised countries allow themselves to be limited to military viewpoints and ... ties in their dealings with the So... camp, the less they will be able to ... use of their inherent supremacy.

The industrialised West leads the world in economic and technical ... nation, flexibility and political initiative.

Crises notwithstanding, it must ... the courage to hold its aim steady at the right target, cooperation with the Third World on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage.

One of these days this policy ... even strike the communist countries ... holding forth greater promise than the current confrontation. *Hans Gerlach*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 May 1980)

Intra-German ties embedded in international setting

With spring in the air in intra-German ties pundits wondered whether it was due to or despite the heat in world affairs.

It certainly looked like spring after the visit to the Hanover Fair by leading GDR officials and with speculation about an intra-German summit meeting between Chancellor Schmidt and Herr Honecker, the East German leader.

The intra-German dialogue is inextricably embedded in the background of world affairs. Iran and Afghanistan have come as too much of a shock to have no effect on talks between Bonn and East Berlin.

This imposes an added responsibility on both sides; it also entails a high potential for susceptibility and risk.

It must be recalled that the division of the world brought about by the East-West conflict has nowhere been more marked than in Germany.

What is more, Germany's geographical and strategic location precludes the possibility of pretension to Swiss-style neutrality.

A neutral course between the superpowers would be fraught with unacceptable risks, both for Germany and for Europe as a whole.

The only way in which we can hope to succeed in protecting and defending our freedom is in solidarity with the United States on the basis of the North Atlantic pact.

Were it not for Nato and the commitment shown by our Nato allies, the German Question could not possibly be kept open.

Thus the North Atlantic pact keeps the national issue alive, given that the only current option on the German Question is to keep options open, in terms of both international law and individual intra-German ties.

A nation does not cease to exist merely because the government of one constituent state wants it to do so. The crucial factor is that Germans in both East and West still feel themselves to be one nation.

That is why we are duty bound to keep individual intra-German ties as intensive as possible even when the heat is on in world affairs.

Every possible use must be made of political and economic opportunities of improving intra-German coexistence at the individual, personal level.

At the same time we must realise that this policy is pursued in dealings with an opposite number for whom freedom of movement runs counter to accepted political theory.

The GDR's raison d'être has to be to maintain demarcation from the Federal Republic of Germany until such time as there is no further possibility of people in the GDR using freedom of movement to head west.

So *Deutschlandpolitik* is an extremely difficult business. In the final analysis it amounts to calling on one side to accept conditions that run diametrically counter to its prerequisites for survival.

Yet we can only take a positive view of the outcome of talks with the GDR on the understanding that concessions by both sides strike a balance and are irrevocable.

Since we know that the GDR faces substantial economic difficulties and that the Federal Republic still holds a considerable attraction for people in the GDR, it is bound to be in our political interest to wield our economic potential to the benefit of the individual.

The economic situation and energy supply problems make it clear that the GDR is increasingly interested in cooperation, especially as East Germany is by no means impervious to economic upset from the West.

It is all the more important to bear in mind the overall context at the negotiating table. Political and economic ties are two sides of the same coin.

There must be no compartmentalisation leading to economic and financial concessions by the West accompanied by setbacks in the sectors the West considers crucial.

Bonn should only be prepared to invest billions of deutschemarks in taxpayers' money in measures to be undertaken in the GDR on the understanding that the investment is accompanied by irrevocable human easements by the East.

These could, for instance, consist of a reduction in the age level for visits to the Federal Republic by GDR citizens or a more generous interpretation of what constitute "urgent family affairs."

Progress can only be achieved gradually, and especially against the background of heightened tension in world affairs *Deutschlandpolitik* calls for a high degree of determination and staying power.

It must on no account be taken as an alibi for being half-hearted on solidarity with the United States and other allies in respect of vital issues for the free world.

Level-headed judgement, determination and staying power must continue to be hallmarks of the intra-German dialogue, which in its turn must be firmly encompassed in the political objectives of the West.

These objectives are to keep the peace and safeguard freedom by redressing the balance of power.

Providing these hallmarks and criteria are retained there could be some likelihood of maintaining beyond the current crisis in world affairs what has so far been achieved in intra-German ties. Further progress might even prove possible.

Walther Leisler Kiep

(Wirtschaftswoche, 2 May 1980)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

State CDU worry over working-class vote

The sudden death of Heinrich Köppler, the North Rhine-Westphalia CDU leader and the election of Kurt Biedenkopf as his successor have dramatically changed the path of the party just before the *Land* elections.

According to the SPD and the FDP, the change at the top has moved the CDU to the right.

And there is concern in the CDU that Professor Biedenkopf, an advocate of the free play of market forces, could lose the party working-class votes in the Ruhr.

Up to now, the CDU seemed to be in a better position than the other parties. Heinrich Köppler was popular for being straightforward and honest.

A practising Catholic, firmly rooted in the Christian-Social tradition of the Rhine CDU and the social committees which grew out of this tradition, he appealed to regular CDU voters.

He represented Christian as well as social components.

Biedenkopf, more of an analyst, who usually lectures audiences at election meetings, was meant to win over critical floating voters.

Now Biedenkopf is alone. Alone with his image of being a man inclined to read the riot act not only to his opponents but also to colleagues and the reputation of being an ambitious man to whom his own career is the highest criterion.

The impression that throughout his career he has changed positions too quickly, always keeping an eye out for the next rung on the ladder, is too fresh to be dismissed rapidly.

In the past Biedenkopf as an economist has called for more private enterprise and limits to the welfare state. He has become so strongly identified with this current of thought that he cannot now credibly represent the whole spectrum of pluralism in the CDU.

The CDU in Rhineland emphatically pointed out this handicap in internal discussions. But in the short term there was simply no alternative to Biedenkopf.

Biedenkopf's number two in the election will be Konrad Grundmann who has been hauled out of comparative obscurity to represent the wage-earners' wing in the party.

The choice seems an act of desperation. Grundmann was last a minister 14 years ago and was succeeded as party leader in the Rhineland by Köppler 10 years ago.

In the meantime he has sunk so deep into obscurity that hardly anyone can now remember his initiatives in social policy.

So it was no accident that in his first major speech since succeeding Köppler Biedenkopf said very little about social policy — an area where he accuses the SPD of excessive generosity and of extending the frontiers of state responsibility. And even what he did say was low key.

Instead, he talked a lot about Karl Arnold and the first programmes after the founding of the CDU, in which social aspects had priority. A strange change of heart by the CDU leader...

The fact tht Biedenkopf has now irrevocably committed himself to North Rhine-Westphalia strengthens his position.

There is a possibility that floating voters may vote CDU in tribute to the late Heinrich Köppler.

If this happened, Biedenkopf would undoubtedly benefit. *Karlegon Halbach*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 April 1980)

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close collaboration, as far as possible, with the United States.

But what, in the long term, is European foreign policy cohesion really worth? The Nine have shown themselves to be completely incapable of reaching domestic compromise, and EEC countries are at sixes and sevens over the future level of farm price guarantees.

Britain's Mrs Thatcher has taken advantage of the international crisis to stymie any attempt to reach agreement until such time as the others agree to reduce Whitehall's net payments to Brussels by DM4bn.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt even offered to sacrifice DM1bn this year from his own budget estimates for the sake of European integration. It was hardly an offer he could afford to make but, as it turned out, it was in vain.

Not since the days of General de Gaulle has the EEC witnessed such a blatant reversion to national egoism as led to the Luxembourg spectacle.

What is more, it took place against the background of two major international conflicts that assumed steadily more alarming proportions.

The European Community has always agreed that its international status could never amount to much until such time as vital economic interests tallied.

The Nine cannot hope to cut much of a figure in the international arena on a shaky sub-structure. The Luxembourg summit's foreign policy declaration may have passed muster but in all other respects the conference was appalling.

Kurt Becker

(Die Zeit, 2 May 1980)

Poll cause for urgent party post-mortems

The CDU's disappointing performance in the Saar elections raises with greater urgency the question of how it hopes to win the general election.

Some members of the CDU executive said at a recent meeting that the present overall political situation was more favourable to the Chancellor than to his challenger, Franz Josef Strauss.

No one at the meeting blamed Strauss for the defeat in the Saar, but national tendencies were discussed.

Kurt Biedenkopf, who will lead the CDU in the North Rhine-Westphalia *Land* election this month, said that the defeat on the Saar would be a challenge to the CDU in the most heavily-populated *Land*.

With the race still neck and neck, the CDU had a real chance of gaining a majority. Finally, however, no one could say whether the Saar result would encourage or demoralise CDU voters in North Rhine-Westphalia.

Biedenkopf said he would not allow the SPD to ignore *Land* politics in the election.

This is precisely the critical point for the CDU; in the Saar and in North Rhine-Westphalia, the SPD has conducted its campaign with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. His image glares down from the hoardings, shading the real contenders.

Lower Saxony Prime Minister Ernst Albrecht said that the CDU would face *difficult* weeks and *months* ahead. He intimated that a team ought to be built up around Strauss.

It also became clear that the CDU is an a quandary about how to tackle Schmidt, who is virtually pursuing CDU policies, and can hardly be attacked on that count.

The only mode of attack was to point out that his party, the SPD, was moving in another direction and that finally the party would prove stronger.

CDU leader Helmut Kohl and Rhineland Palatinate Prime Minister Gerhard Vogel drew at least one consolation from the Saar result. The coalition with the FDP had been saved. The CDU had lost votes as a result but at least it meant that, theoretically at least, the FDP could move towards the CDU in the *Länder* or in Bonn.

CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler sent members of the election committee a first trend poll on the general election, which says: "There are no signs at the moment that potential CDU voters will abstain more heavily than potential SPD voters." The CDU had 71 per cent regular voters, whereas the SPD could only count on 60 per cent. The FDP and the Ecologists were the floating voters' parties.

The paper adds: "With its regular voters alone the FDP cannot take the 5 per cent hurdle. At the most it can get two to three per cent."

The CDU was generally considered more competent on given issues than the other parties. Direct comparisons between Schmidt and Strauss showed that voters credited Strauss with the ability to solve the most important tasks.

However, Schmidt still held a narrow lead. The CDU attribute this to the fact that Schmidt holds the advantage of being in office. *Manfred Schell*

(Die Welt, 29 April 1980)

Saar coalition still needed to keep out SPD

The SPD defeated the CDU in the Saar elections, though the CDU will continue to govern in coalition with the FDP.

However, these results give no real indications of the possible result of the general election. The Saar is simply too small, and too many regional factors come into play.

One peculiarity of the election was the outstanding personality of SPD leader Oskar Lafontaine, who made his party the strongest in the *Land*.

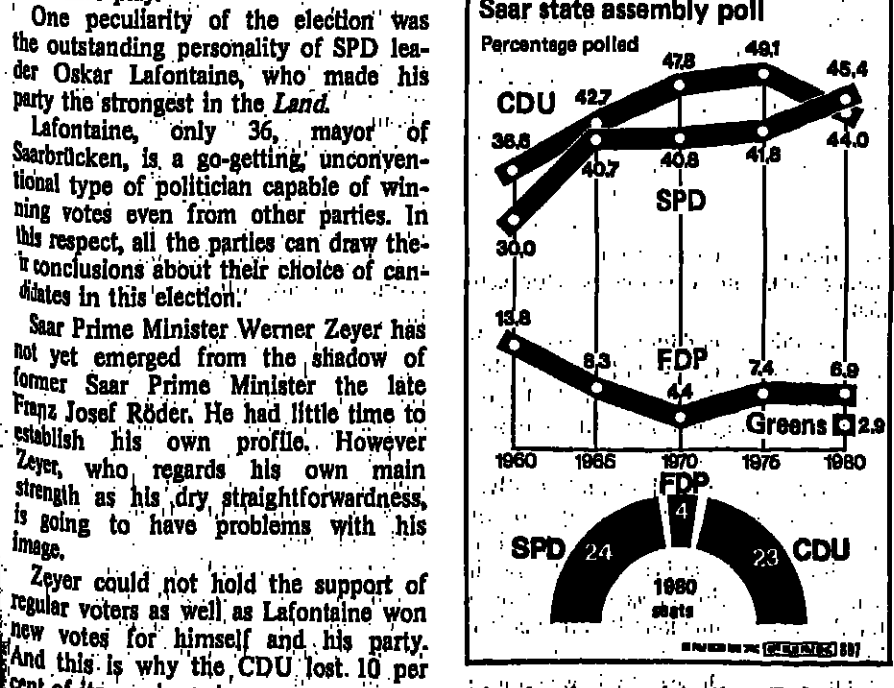
Lafontaine, only 36, mayor of Saarbrücken, is a go-getting, unconventional type of politician capable of winning votes even from other parties. In this respect, all the parties can draw their conclusions about their choice of candidates in this election.

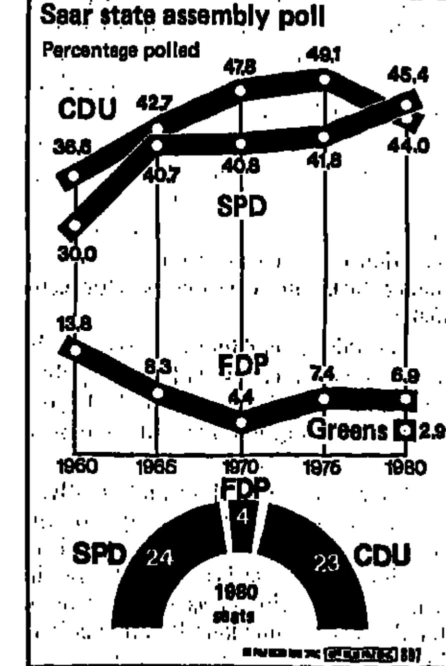
Saar Prime Minister Werner Zeyer has not yet emerged from the shadow of former Saar Prime Minister the late Franz Josef Röder. He had little time to establish his own profile. However Zeyer, who regards his own main strength as his dry straightforwardness, is going to have problems with his image.

Zeyer could not hold the support of regular voters as well as Lafontaine won new votes for himself and his party. And this is why the CDU lost 10 per cent of its regular vote.

The SPD, though it became the largest party, did not win the election, because it failed to get an absolute majority.

The SPD is now getting a taste of





what has happened to the CDU several times in recent years: being the largest party but still not being able to defeat the "losers' coalition." This experience must be all the more bitter as the SPD's coalition partners in Bonn, the FDP, have prevented them from taking office in the Saar.

Precisely this is the FDP's achievement in the Saar election, though it did lose some votes. The FDP wanted to prove that it can survive even when it changes coalitions. The Saar was the last example of an CDU-FDP coalition. The FDP national executive was therefore anxious to preserve it.

It would be wrong to draw conclusions for Bonn from this wish and its fulfilment. In Bonn the FDP will continue the coalition with the SPD as long as Helmut Schmidt is Chancellor. But of course it is entitled to consider its options for the period after this.

The possibility of once again forming a coalition government with the CDU in the Saar has considerably increased the FDP's political scope for the future. It is therefore total nonsense to assume that the FDP might reconsider its pre-election commitment to form a coalition with the CDU in the light of the election result.

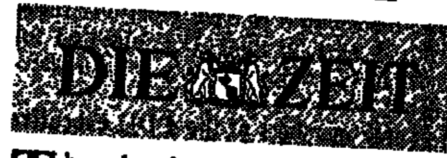
Another interesting feature of the Saar election is the poor performance of the Ecologists. After getting into the Baden-Württemberg parliament, they are now well below the 5 per cent hurdle.

Only future elections will tell us whether this means the Green Wave has been stopped. They will also indicate whether the candidacy of Franz Josef Strauss played any part in the loss of CDU votes. *Hans Jörg Sottorf*

(Handelsblatt, 29 April 1980)

■ BERLIN

Washington 'unwavering' in support – mayor



There has been no change whatever in the American commitment to Berlin, according to the Governing Mayor of West Berlin, Dietrich Stobbe.

The city was firmly embedded in the western alliance, said Herr Stobbe, who has returned from a three-week visit to the US.

He said President Carter had spoken "very positively" about Berlin and "has vivid memories" of his stay there.

"One or two newspaper have written that the Americans have made some very heavy-handed hints about Berlin," said Herr Stobbe.

"This is arrant nonsense. I am not in the least worried."

American ambassador Stoessel said recently that Berlin was particularly sensitive to developments in East-West relations and the interests of Berlin would not be served by disregarding the seriousness of events in Iran and Afghanistan.

This very cautious formulation indicates that the American government can envisage the crisis in the Middle East having direct effects on Berlin.

Stobbe, however, is thinking in the longer term. He sees no danger at present. *"No one can remain calm in this situation, but we ought to be composed and circumspect."*

Stobbe said that in the long run detente could not work unless there was a united alliance in the West. Only this alliance could ensure the balance in which detente was possible: "Detente does not mean the dissolution of an order but using the given, balance order to achieve a balance of interests."

Could detente then only be maintained if the Western states showed solidarity with one another? "I am convinced of this. This is the most important thing I have learnt here in Berlin."

Stobbe spent his Easter holidays in Florida and while in the US he spoke to President Carter. He not only knows the President's opinions at first hand, he also knows the general mood in the United States. He said there was general irritation among the American public about the attitude of its western allies.

He said it was important to take not only the government view but public opinion into account. Americans still thought Carter was not being tough enough.

Stobbe said he had found a mood of renewed self confidence in the US and he assumed this mood would prevail for some time.

Stobbe's summary after three weeks in the US: "It was very plain that there was growing disappointment and bitterness not only about the American government but also about the allies in Europe – and this is what seems to me to be really dangerous.

"Suddenly the question of the alliance arises, the other way round. We in Europe have for years asked whether the Americans would come to the aid of the alliance swiftly if this should be necessary and we have often enough seen that they have done just this.

"Now the question has arisen – in a *situation so far considered impossible – whether the Europeans are prepared to do something specific when the Americans ask for active solidarity.*

"Americans find our reaction one of diplomatic temporizing. The danger is that the Americans will draw conclusions from this for their own future action."

Stobbe said that in this situation it was not so important what we thought of specific decisions in Washington and their effects. The unity of action within the alliance could not be called in question. He said it was essential to avoid another crisis, one of confidence between the European allies and the United States. He recalled the 1962 Cuba crisis, which had shaped political thinking in Berlin.

Then, he said, the American reaction was very tough, "just as Carter would have liked to react toughly to Afghanistan." At the same time the United States sought dialogue with the Soviet Union, and held this dialogue.

Now it was essential to encourage the Americans to think not only in terms of holding back, pushing back and "punishing" but also constructively in terms of defusing and regulating conflicts. "Only if we succeed in this will we be able to keep negative effects away from Europe in the long term."

So far there have been no negative effects, *"neither threats nor actions nor utterances which in any way indicate* that one side might attempt to violate the letter and spirit of the Four Power Agreement or lay hands on the city in any other way."

Stobbe believes there are two reasons for this: first the powers attempted to solve problems on the spot, where they arose. And then the Soviet Union was not interested in creating a situation in Europe which would immediately drive the West European states straight into the arms of the US.

Lessons learnt from bitter experience

However, Stobbe does not rule out the possibility that the conflict between the two world powers could affect Berlin: "In Berlin bitter experience has taught us that we cannot look at the city in isolation."

He said that if the duration of the crises in the Middle East could not be limited, it would be conceivable that the European region could not be kept out. "This could also lead to a change in Soviet attitudes, and this would not be good for Berlin."

After all the bitterness and disappointment he observed in the United States, how did Dietrich Stobbe judge American commitment to West Berlin? "There has been no change in this whatsoever. The President spoke very positively about the city and has vivid memories of his stay there.

"One or two newspapers have written that the Americans have made some very heavy-handed hints about Berlin. This is arrant nonsense. I am not in the least worried."

Stobbe firmly supports maintaining the constellations which could enable



West Berlin Governing Mayor Dietrich Stobbe and President Carter in Wa[shington] during their talks last month. (Pho[to] ...)

more specific efforts towards a balance between East and West. But Berlin could not remain the only non-crisis area.

"Anyone pursuing a policy which put us between the two powers, though we are part of the Western alliance, would be literally asking for a crisis."

Berlin was firmly embedded in the western alliance and so it could now start working on intra-German projects in the interests of Berlin.

Stobbe was thinking here mainly of a West German contribution to the electrification of railway lines between Berlin and West Germany. This could be combined with joint energy projects with East Berlin, which would help reduce some of the city's problems as an energy supply island.

Stobbe said this new opportunity should be grasped. He affirmed that one could now talk to the GDR about things which it was not previously possible to discuss. He stressed that these negotiations of three western powers in Berlin.

He said that former secretary of state Cyrus Vance had assured him that the Western powers unconditionally supported these policies "which took the peculiarities of the German situation into account."

Apart from foreign policy problems, Berlin has its local problems, and none too few either. There are gaps in the financing of the 1984 International Building Exhibition; its organiser has cried off; the Opposition has called for it to be postponed for some years.

The Building Exhibition will cost DM3.5 bn. At the same time a gardening exhibition costing DM200 m is being planned. The final bill for the International Congress Centre will be higher than the Housing Senator estimated.

Is all this expenditure not excessive in a city which receives half of its public spending budget from Bonn? Is the Senate not being too free with taxpayers' money?

Mayor Stobbe sees things differently.

"The criticisms of the city government here are often very unfair. There are times when we hear that the Berlin Senate cannot find ways to compensate for the loss of functions Berlin is suffering.

"Our critics call on us to show boldness, vision, say we cannot do enough to show that Berlin is in the centre of the central focal point of Germany. And then when we start certain projects, the same people ask if we are not doing too much."

To judge fairly, one must first c[onsi]der what criteria ought to be used.

"We said now we have the cha[nce of] a peaceful situation to attract as [many] people as possible to this city and to put Berlin in a position to com[pete] with other cities."

Stobbe's comparisons are not [with] cities such as Kiel or Hanover: "We [Berlin] is fighting to play a part in the co[ncert] of big European cities and has do[ne] what we have done: UN city, a ce[ntre] for major international organisat[ions]. We ought not to lag behind the eff[orts] other comparable cities are ma[king] throughout the world.

"In Montreal there has been an e[n]ormous amount of building and this revitalised the city, just as we hope [to] do. The gardening exhibition, which w[ill] bring huge numbers of visitors to Be[rlin] is not planned just as a one-off th[at] is being planned to improve the ... city and to create a new city park."

Stobbe also sees local projects [in] terms of the political situation. He s[ays] that such projects must not only sati[sfy] local needs but also have the dimensi[on] to make them attractive to other Ge[r]mans and international visitors.

Otherwise Berlin would lag behi[nd] and it would not longer be able to co[m]pete with other major cities: "The co[n]sequence for Berlin's image in the wo[rld] would be serious."

However, compared with the predic[tions], what has actually been built [in] Berlin in the past 30 years is – w[ith] some exceptions – rather paltry. Ma[ny] critics are cynical or resigned about th[e] maintenance of organic structures a[nd] about the aesthetic quality of most [of] the new buildings.

One of the reasons for this is th[e] city's island position: a group of bu[ild]ing contractors, architects and bure[auc]rats determine what is built. Artistic [and] economic competition is the rare exc[ep]tion.

Stobbe, too, is "rather sceptical" abo[ut] the style of building. But he points to the International Building Exhibitio[n], one of the purposes of which is to adap[t] buildings better to the environment, [to] find better architectural styles and [to] prevent the city centre from falling int[o] rack and ruin.

He sees competition as the key. "[We] often have the impression that buildin[g] prices in Berlin are too high. At th[e] moment, there is a danger of a pr[ice] avalanche in the private building sector, which will probably make us cut ou[r] building programme, though we certain[ly] need more flats. But we are not goin[g] to be blackmailed."

Clear words in a situation in which

Continued on page 5

■ WELFARE

Bonn plan aims to cut industrial accidents

Every 16 seconds there is an accident at work in this country. Every 2½ hours, someone is killed in an accident at work.

Bonn Research Minister Volker Hauff quoted these disturbing figures to underline the need for his ministry's *Humanisation of the Working World* programme. The interim report was published recently.

The programme, started in 1974, has cost DM478m so far.

Herr Hauff said that there were still obstacles to the full implementation of the programme, which requires cooperation between both sides of industry at the place of work. Hauff said that a major problem in small and medium-sized companies was employer reluctance to have anything to do with trade unions and works councillors and indeed the Co-determination Act.

The Bonn Government's two main aims are:

Better accident prevention at work and thus an increase in safety; the reduction of damaging over and under-strain; improvement of the quality of work.

When these aims have been put into practice, it has become clear that companies implemented them because they expected they would being greater flexibility and, most important, economic advantages.

The trade unions, works councillors and employees, on the other hand, are more concerned with the nature and stresses of their work and with questions of qualification and pay.

Hauff's concern, which he expresses in the interim report, is that these measures will only have a chance of long term success if both sides cooperate and overcome the conflict of interests.

This is why all research programmes on the humanisation of the working world have conditions attached to them. One such condition is that representatives of both sides of industry should sit on the advisory committees.

Another is that no factory or work place can receive subsidies from the programme unless the works council as the representative of the employees has agreed in writing.

Hauff has, however, indirectly ducked responsibility for ensuring cooperation by saying that this is a matter for the companies and the workers' representatives alone "whom I cannot and do not wish to influence."

Herr Hauff has been strongly criticised recently especially by small and medium-sized companies. They argue that the conditions attached to the programmes go beyond the aims of the Company Constitution Act.

Some employers' associations have been even more critical and direct, accusing Hauff of using this programme to pave the way for new economic and social goals.

Hauff rejects the accusations, saying that more unprejudiced meetings between employers and works councillors would quickly break down barriers.

One of the aims of Hauff's programme to improve the quality of work is that employees should be given more responsibility and control over the work they are doing. So far, 167 such projects have been subisdised to the tune of DM123m.

However, ministry officials say this programme has not been as effective as hoped and higher qualification of workers has been the exception rather than the rule in such schemes.

So far DM278m has been invested in 380 projects to improve "health protection at the place of work."

Of these projects, 133 aimed at reducing unhealthy factors such as noise and dangerous materials.

Forty three projects aimed at reducing stress in working life. This aspect was a particular challenge to occupational medicine.

Klaus J. Schwehn

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 29 April 1980)

Continued from page 4

even well-paid managers can hardly find a flat in Berlin and the accommodation market is preventing skilled workers moving to the city. Have the city's housing policies failed? Stobbe says this is a typical Berlin question. The state invested more in housing in Berlin than anywhere else.

One could not expect the state to do everything. No one was prevented from building flats privately. Besides, the situation on the housing market was marked not only by the trend towards the one-person household but, last year at least, by the economic boom which led to very high demand for accommodation.

Stobbe said: "I am amazed by this development myself. It shows once again that all the experts' predictions about the development of a well-functioning housing market are wrong."

As for the proposals to abolish controlled rents by 1983, Stobbe says he agrees in principle with the idea but that the conditions in which the scheme could work have not yet been fulfilled; there is an imbalance between supply and demand; there is hardly any empty accommodation.

De-controlling rents in Berlin would only lead to higher prices but not to price and quality competition between landlords.

"The result is that we keep having to come back to state control and dirigisme and, in principle, this is bad."

Joachim Nawrocki

(Die Zeit, 25 April 1980)

Experiment with day mothers 'proves a point'

An experiment involving "day-care" mothers has been highly successful, according to a report by a Bonn Ministry.

The scheme, aimed at keeping children out of institutions or day-care centres, shows that these substitute mothers give children an excellent chance for normal development.

The Youth Family and Health Ministry began the project in 1974.

Children under the age of three whose parents could not look after them during the day (because of their jobs, for instance) were put in the care of day mothers.

From 1974 to 1978, 420 children of 400 parents were cared for by 220 day mothers in 11 West German towns: Wilhelmshaven, Hanover, Holzminden, Kassel/Baunatal, Lüdenscheid, Göppingen, Reutlingen, Stuttgart, Erlangen, Wunsiedel and Unterpfaffenhofen-Germingen.

The final report says that the aim of giving children better chances of development than in many traditional homes and care centres was achieved.

They found no difference between the development of children looked after by day mothers and those looked after by their natural parents.

Children in the care of day mothers were quite capable of establishing good relationships with their own parents.

A control group of children looked after by their own mothers took the same development tests, and comparisons showed that they were in no way superior to day care children either in intelligence or social and emotional development.

Day care children showed no more inhibitions or fears than other children when playing.

Further results: children brought up by their mothers alone were in no way behind in development compared with children from two-parent families.

Day care can in many cases help prevent a complete separation of mother and child and support the mother in her task of bringing up her child alone.

Day care proved suitable for members of different social classes.

The project brought several new experiences and realisations in the educational counselling and advice of day mothers. It emerged that the quality of care can be improved by advice and group work, and when parents and day mothers are included in the process.

Individual advice is recommended in crises or in the initial phases.

Group work, on the other hand, concentrates on a wide spectrum of specific situations and is not restricted to questions and problems of education.

The German Youth Institute concluded that the training day mothers had received had improved their educational, communicative and general social capacities.

What happens now? In the towns taking part the scheme, clubs have been formed in which different groups and associations work together.

Almost all the experimental groups are now members of the Day Mothers' Association, a registered club, which receives an annual subsidy from the Ministry.

The amount day mothers receive ranges from DM280 to DM600 per month. Within this range, the amounts for care are not always identical with the agreed local payments.

In half of all cases, DM50 to DM250 more has to be paid and this is claimed by the day mothers' associations.

The local youth offices are sometimes willing to make higher care payments to families with low incomes. In return, day mothers are required to take part in training and counselling at the day mother centres.

The new Youth Aid Act also takes into account the experience of the day mother project. Paragraph 38 says that aid for day care education is one possibility of family education.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 25 April 1980)

New approach urged to State handouts

The method of deciding the level of social welfare payments in the Federal Republic of Germany has come under criticism.

Payments are now geared to a list of essential goods and services.

But the German Public and Private Assistance Association (DV) says that the yardstick should instead be the average wage or pension.

DV director Walter Schellhorn pointed out that neither average income nor average pension are related to actual needs, but were higher than social assistance rates.

It was agreed at the 69th Assistance Congress in Frankfurt that an extraordinary session should be held to thrash out proposals for a new index of social assistance.

Herr Schellhorn said that there were more than 2m people in this country receiving social assistance, of which 1.3m were on it permanently.

Working groups at the three-day conference presented a list of demands:

Family assistance should be further developed by education payments, payments to parents giving up their job so that they can look after a child, maternity leave and parents' leave.

Special priority should be given to families with low incomes and to large families, by raising income limits and not taking family allowances into account when assistance levels were being calculated.

They recommended that older unemployed people, instead of receiving social assistance, should be paid from the in accordance with the Labour Encouragement Law.

Youth assistance should concentrate on making special measures and institutions for the care of young people superfluous.

Communal social planning: the main aim of this new area of social work is to represent the interests of the local population when planning decisions are made and to ensure that they have a say.

Social services: The restrictions and reorientations in the Bonn Government programme for civilian conscripts should not lead to any disadvantages for the people they looked after.

The working group called for permanent subsidies towards civilian conscripts doing social work.

Security in old age: the aim of old people's homes should not be to be perfectly run institutions but ones in which old people felt happy and at home.

The integration of the physically and mentally handicapped: the DV appealed to the Government to reconsider its rejection of the DM500m programme it had called for.

Foreign workers: foreign parents should get the same children's allowance as German parents, regardless of whether their children were living here or in their home country.

The DV called for bilingual education in schools and for cheaper flats to be made available to prevent foreign workers from forming ghettos in run-down areas.

Professor Hermann Mueller, leader of the working party on foreign workers said: "A social time bomb is ticking which it behoves us to defuse ... we know exactly what the difficulties are but we still do not know how to eliminate them."

Wilhelm Körber

(Die Welt, 29 April 1980)

■ TRADE

IMF, World Bank urged to help more in recycling petro-dollars

International organisations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank must play a more important role in recycling petrodollars and helping countries with balance-of-payments deficits.

This was one of the main points agreed on when economic policy makers from IMF member countries met in Hamburg.

The meeting came in the wake of a huge realignment process in balances of payments triggered by oil-price increases.

In some cases the changes have been so great that once they would have been thought of as impossible.

Transactions of unprecedented magnitude need financing. This year, for instance, the current account deficit the industrialised countries are expected to run up will amount to about $50bn.

The corresponding deficit of the non oil-exporting developing countries is expected to increase to about $70bn or so.

In 1981 the gap is expected to widen, not narrow, and experts agree that there is little likelihood of any appreciable reduction in gigantic oil-based deficits over the years ahead.

How and via what channels are these deficits, especially those of the developing countries, to be financed and how can a realignment be brought about?

These were the main issues facing delegates to the meeting.

Unlike in the aftermath of the first oil shock in 1973, private banks are no longer prepared to channel the lion's share of petrodollar recycling in the direction of the developing countries.

International banks without exception sound a warning note about the enormous risks financing this latest round of imbalances must entail.

The alarm is sounded because of the enormous debts the developing countries have accumulated. Between 1974 and 1979 their combined indebtedness increased from $142bn to well over $300bn.

Many of the US banks that were most active in recycling petrodollars have, in view of the growing risks in certain countries, reached levels they feel unable, for reasons of financial soundness and commercial prudence, to exceed.

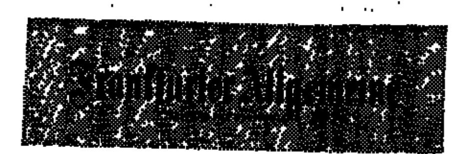
In many cases national watchdog authorities have advised caution, reminding the banks that the sums owed them by the Third World have grown out of all relation to their capital and reserves.

Non oil-exporting developing countries owe 58 US banks $57bn, equivalent to 130 per cent of the banks' capital and loss reserves.

Commercial banks are reluctant to commit themselves further and a warning note is sounded by international institutions such as the Bank for International Settlements.

These factors combine to lend weight to the view, prevalent in international financial circles, that a different approach to the one adopted in the wake of the first round of oil-price increases must now be adopted.

In the present much more difficult phase economic priority must be given to realignment rather than to virtually automatic financing via private capital markets.



Many developing countries likewise feel that running up more debts, far from being a solution, will merely aggravate their situation.

Against this background international organisations whose main purpose is to promote realignment and boost productive potential automatically assume a crucial rôle in the latest round of financial requirements.

Under the aegis of the IMF and the World Bank, private markets will probably again be prepared to take on part of the task of recycling oil-based surpluses to deficit economies.

The economic terms negotiated with the IMF or the World Bank would, as it were, provide risk cover for private loans.

The IMF is already much more closely associated with deficit financing than it has been over the past two years. In the first quarter of 1980 loans totalling $2.7bn have been processed and garanted.

This is four times as much as in 1978 and 1979 combined, yet the IMF is still roundly condemned, both by developing countries and several industrialised countries.

They say the IMF as presently constituted is incapable of meeting the developing countries' requirements or of playing a constructive role in view of the magnitude of financial and structural problems.

They accuse it of being dogmatic, inflexible and geared solely to deflationary policies, and according to the Group of 24, speaking on behalf of the developing countries, the IMF can only play an effective part in financing oil deficits if it eases its loan terms.

It must, they say, grant loans without economic policy strings. It must gear its credit policies and its creation of fresh international liquidity to the needs of the developing countries.

In short, albeit exaggeratedly, the IMF ought to transform itself into an international aid organisation that automatically lends financial assistance without asking questions.

This Third World viewpoint is a strictly political demand that is not endorsed by responsible economic policy-makers in the developing countries.

The prevailing view among those responsible in both the industrialised and the developing worlds is that the [...] has, in the past two years, increa[...] catered for the growing economic [...] culties faced by member-countries.

It has markedly improved acc[...] loans in the event of export setbac[...] means of the so-called compensato[...] cility. It has also extended by three [...] to a decade the repayment perio[...] support loans.

Even so, in view of the need f[...] lignment the developing countri[...] now clamouring for IMF aid in [...] structural problems.

Structural policy is, however, th[...] rain and, indeed, the forte of the [...] partner, the World Bank, and [...] development banks.

Thus in the years ahead, interna[...] monetary experts agree, close co[...] tion between the IMF and the W[...] Bank will be an absolute essential.

The World Bank has already evo[...] suitable financial arrangement in [...] ing programmed loans for structur[...] alignment and has thus partly ex[...] the domain of funding paym[...] balances.

The IMF on the other hand is inc[...] singly encroaching on World Bank [...] rain in financing long-term realign[...] programmes and emphasising the [...] for structural measures.

What matters is that the two are [...] played off against each other. The I[...] must first and foremost remain wha[...] has so far succeeded in remaining [...] bastion of economic common sense.

Carola Ka[...]

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze[...] für Deutschland, 24 April [...])

Gatt enters a new phase with a new chief

At the beginning of May, Arthur Dunkel, 48, took over as director-general of Gatt, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. His appointment was confirmed on 28 April in Geneva by the 85 member-countries in full session,

He is only the third director-general in the history of Gatt, the longest-standing international trade organisations. His predecessors were Eric Windhamwhite and Olivier Long. Like Long, Dunkel is Swiss.

The two are convinced that the hand-over of power at the helm of Gatt heralds a new era in world trade in general and at Gatt in particular.

For Gatt it will be phase 3, following the founding years under Windhamwhite and an era of expansion under Long, during whose tenure the developing countries gained access to what had previously been an exclusive club open only to industrialised countries.

Long also presided over Gatt during the Tokyo Round.

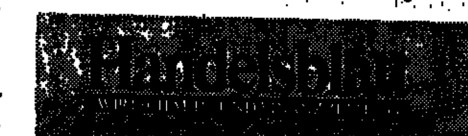
Windhamwhite started building up Gatt from the beginning of 1948. It was set up on 30 October 1947 by 23 countries, mostly industrialised, after the failure of US plans to establish a comprehensive world trade organisation.

Gatt adopted the trade policy section of the World Trade Charter, also known as the Havana Charter. It was signed by 54 countries on 24 March 1948 but never implemented.

Other sections of the World Trade Charter were adopted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the UN Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) and its regional bodies in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Europe.

Other roles were taken on by the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and other UN special organisations, plus the UN General Assembly.

This network of international economic bodies was joined in 1964 by the permanent secretariat of the UN Conference on Trade and Development



(Unctad) and in 1966 by the UN Industrial Development Organisation (Unido).

Within its international framework Gatt aims, according to its new director-general, to continue playing its special role of honest broker.

The distinctive feature of Gatt in relation to many UN organisations is that it is not an organisation in which majorities of countries can build up or exert pressure.

So far Gatt member-countries seem prepared to respect this special role. Delegates at Gatt sessions are often the same men and women who represent their countries at much more embattled Unctad conference.

But at Gatt they behave in an entirely different manner. They are "like the same players playing different games."

The rules of the game at Gatt are the terms of the relatively brief Gene[...] Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, to which so many additions have be[...] made over the years that they make [...] more than a metre of shelf space [...] testify to Gatt's pragmatic approach.

At Gatt, agreement is reached [...] what appears feasible, and if need [...] members have no compunction in b[...] king the original rules.

The EEC and Efta, for instance, [...] only tolerated by virtue of a breach [...] the rules. Both contravene the guid[...] principle of Gatt, that of reciprocal m[...] favoured nation status among member[...]

Gatt is far from unacquainted w[...] the power game, however. The new [...] rector-general is thought of as an E[...] man, for instance, and faces opposit[...] not only from the developing countri[...] but also from Scandinavia and Austral[...]

William Kelly, one of his two dep[...] ties, is an American. Madan Mathur, [...] other, is an Indian. The EEC count[...] are only represented at lower levels.

Gatt policies are decided main[...] these three men at the top, so the [...] director-general had to be someone [...] even if he was not exactly to their liking, was not too unpopular.

Where Gatt activities are concerned [...] clear distinction is drawn between op[...] ational and theoretical policy. Operatio[...] nal policy is decided by the triumvir[...] theoretical policy is drafted by a gro[...] of Gatt ideologists including Ian Tu[...] Nicolas Marian and Richard Blackhur[...]

The new Dunkel era will, it is expe[...] ed, be an era of detailed, tailor-ma[...] work in world trade. The age of ma[...] conferences is over.

But there are still a great many spe[...] fic, individual problems awaiting so[...] tion. In particular, Gatt itself must [...] protected from the ravages of prot[...] tionism.

(Handelsblatt, 18 April 19[...])

■ BUSINESS

Embargoed computer symbolises list of commercial hurdles

The apparently insignificant subject of a DM 1m computer became a [m]ajor talking point among industrialists [at] the Hanover Fair.

This was not because the computer [o]pened new horizons in electronic data [pr]ocessing. The US-made computer arouses such interest because it was ori[gi]nally meant for the new Soviet airport, Sheremetjevo 2 and is now on the American embargo list. This means that the Salzgitter AG, who supplied the computer technology for the airport, will have to wait some time yet for the DM [...]m it is due to get from Moscow. It will not receive this payment until the [air]port is operating fully. First the Sovi[et]s have to install a replacement com[pu]ter from Poland.

This little computer stands for many other deals affected by the trade boycotts on Iran and the Soviet Union, the number one topic of conversation in Hanover. Politics dominated this year's fair. Business was already over before this giant exhibition opened its gates.

Long before the fair began the mechanical engineering industry, the country's biggest, was crowing over the excellent results achieved so far this year.

Professor Hans Günter Müller, chairman of the board of Mannesmann-Demag, had a tough job backing his prediction that business would tail off slightly in the second half of the year.

The order books are full. And the news from other industries is the same.

A German steel concern spokesman said that the Hanover fair, considered a barometer of business in this country, had shown that "1980 is over".

Despite full order books, company bosses are worried. Nobody dares to predict how long the boom will last. The political question marks from Washington, Tehran and Kabul make predictions dicey.

There was widespread concern abou[t] political developments. The discussion of a boycott against Iran or an economic embargo against the Soviet Union not only involves important sales markets for the German economy, but also the suppliers of primary energy, minerals and raw materials for chemicals.

The increasingly important German factory construction industry is a point here. In 1979 it took orders for plant worth DM 19 bn.

West German factory constructors are particularly dependent on business with the East. Salzgitter boss Ernst Pieper is convinced that this will continue: "Our main customers will continue to be the Comecon countries and the developing countries."

A trade embargo against the Soviet Union would badly hit his company. Salzgitter AG exports a quarter of its production to the East bloc Eastern hemisphere, and most of this goes tothe Soviet Union.

The West German steel industry which g ot into the black last year after four years in the red has good reason to fear a trade embargo against the Soviet Union. It exports between 1.5 and 2m tons of rolled steel to the Soviet Union annually and in the event of an embargo, would not be able to sell this steel elsewhere.

Difficulties are already arising in trade with the Soviet Union, even before an embargo has officially been imposed. Applications for deals with the Soviet Union are piling up before the obstacle of Hermes guarantees.

It is an open secret that the ministerial bureaucracy can only deal swiftly with applications worth DM 5m at the most. And as a factory constructor in Hanover put it, "given the huge sums involved in export deals, you can forget these figures."

The inter-ministerial committee which decides on applications for Hermes guarantees is taking its time about applications for multi-million transactions with the Soviet Union.

Bonn Minister of Economic Affairs Count Lambsdorff said at the fair that he was against a rigid trade boycott: "I have my doubts about proposals to impose export restrictions sectorally or in volume terms for civil projects." But this will be small consolation to industry.

But direct export restrictions are not the only measures that could halt trade with the Soviet Union. Former politician Dr Detlev Karsten Rohwedder, now boss of Hoesch, reckons that the Soviet Union could lose interest in trade with West Germany — even as a result of a boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow.

Rohwedder: "The Russians can buy what they need anywhere in the world. West Germany industry would soon realise this — at a time when exports are becoming more important and more difficult."

On the general tenor on the American boycott of Iran Lambsdorff said: "we have promised them solidarity and we will keep our promise." A West German boycott would not only affect the steel deal with Iran, which got going again somewhat last year.

Industry fears a politically-caused energy crisis. They are worried less about increasing energy prices than about a lack of crude oil.

The industrialists in Hanover debated quite openly what allies Khomeini could call upon if, following a possible sea-blockade, of Iran, he stopped oil exports.

They reckoned that if supplies from Iran were cut off, only 15 per cent of total oil requirements would be affected. They are much more worried about North African countries, Libya in particular, cutting supplies as an act of solidarity.

The future of German industry and of its key industries does not depend solely on the world political situation. One of the main talking points at Hanover was what kind of products industry needed to produce to make high profits on world markets and thus haul the country out of its balance of payments deficit.

The answers to the political questions were varied, the answers to this question were uniform. The mechanical and electrical engineering industries in particular would have to develop plants in which either labour or energy could be saved.

But the Hanover Fair did not offer many precise recipes for the future apart from this general diagnosis.

The fair, which has the reputation of being a pacemaker in the innovation sector, offered few new solutions to the energy problem.

But there are hopeful signs. One example is Klöckner's steel production method which saves 40 per cent of primary energy or 75 per cent of electricity requirement of comparable plants.

However, this method was not on show at Hanover because there are still legal technicalities about patents to be cleared up.

(Wirtschaftswoche, 25 April 1980)

Exporters find a thorny road to Iran

No official embargo on trade with Iran has yet been imposed, but already there are so many obstacles in the way of exporters that trade is grinding to a halt.

Exporters wanting to send goods to Iran are finding suitable ships and lorries hard to obtain. And sending goods by rail is out, too: haulage companies have imposed a transport ban since 26 March.

Shipping between North Sea ports and Iran has been "thinned out" for montgs. Ships of the Associated Continental Middle East Lines bound for Bandar Khomeini (formerly Bandar Shahpur) only enter the Arabian/Persian Gulf once a fortnight now.

Even the Iran State Shipping Company, Arya, has cancelled departures of ships from ports because ship movements are not going according to plan. Outsiders, generally credited with a good nose for commercial risks, are no longer to be found in trade with Iran.

Shipping agents Kühne & Nagel say that goods for Iran are already piling up in German harbour warehouses. This is all the more surprising as the volume of trade with Iran is now only a third of what it was before the Iranian revolution. These goods consist mainly of spare parts, basic material for small Iranian companies and iron and steel products.

Even when goods bound for Iran leave the ports, international shipping agencies cannot state how long transportation will take.

Kühne & Nagel spokesman von Scotti said: "In the past you had to allow three months for transportation and formalitites. One would now have to allow much longer."

As Iran no longer offered collection facilities, exporters now allowed no unpaid goods to leave ports.

Lorry and rail transport cannot make up for the gap left by shipping. On the contrary, West European hauliers do not expect their drivers to risk a journey to Iran. Turkish and Bulgarian hauliers still prepared to take commissions now charge DM 15000 for a 38-ton lorry taking a load from Munich to Tehran via Balkan and Turkish routes.

No goods trains have crossed the Turkish-Iranian border since 18 April and there are now 2,700 goods waggons on the Turkish side loaded and waiting to cross. So prices for road transport will probably continue to rise.

The Soviet Union has said that if the West imposed a boycott it would provide Iran with sufficient transport capacity — but this is of little practical value.

The Soviet rail network is overburdened and isolated because of its wide gauge. There are no gauge-changeover points except at the Polish-Russian border, and this only for passenger trains.

All goods sent from Europe or the USSR's East bloc allies would have to be reloaded in Brest-Litovsk or Medyka/-Lemberg. The organisation here is quite good, and the process is repeated, though far less efficiently, at Dshulfa and Asstara on the Soviet-Iranian border. The Polish Ministry of Transport has informed the German Railways that there are 3,000 goods waggons in Dshulfa waiting to cross into Iran.

This is why German Railways have been refusing to accept goods bound for Iran since 26 March. Exporters say that the needs of 35m Iranians could not be met by rail transport and the roads of the Caucasus alone.

Of course the Soviet Union could mobilise more transport capacity if it gave politival priority to supplies to Iran. However, the transportation of supplies within Russia itself would suffer as a result. Exporters who send goods to Japan via the Trans-Siberian Railway know that the Soviet land transport system is hopeless overstrained and there are no reserves in sight in the civil area.

A switch to the Volga-Caspian Sea route is out because of the inadequate reloading facilities in Astrakhan and Baku, not to mention the lack of infrastructure in the Iranian Caspian sea ports.

Winfried Moritz

(Handelsblatt, 28 April 1980)

■ RESEARCH

Magnetic field explosion will give scientists crucial half-hour

Early this summer people all over America, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, will be able to see for themselves, with the naked eye, an experiment about 60,000 km away in outer space.

Coloured clouds, some appearing as large as the sun, others larger than the moon, will combine to make up a fireworks display lasting several minutes.

Firewheel is the code name of the experiment, for which the figurative blue touch paper will be lit by the Max Planck Extra-Terrestrial Physics Institute in Garching, Munich.

It is also the name of the Munich boffins' satellite, with a payload of 160 kg of barium and 40 kg of lithium that is to be ignited in space.

The satellite, weighing 1,100 kg, will be the heaviest scientific research satellite ever launched by Western Europe. It is due to be launched in late May or early June by the Ariane Euro-rocket.

The aim of this second full-scale trial launching of the Ariane will be to put the Firewheel satellite into an elliptical orbit at altitudes ranging from 200 km to 60,000 km.

The Max Planck physicists hope to learn more about nuclear fusion from magnetic inclusion of a gas consisting of electrically charged particles in the upper atmosphere.

Firewheel's colourful clouds of metallic steam will temporarily tear a hole several hundred kilometres in diameter in the earth's magnetic field.

The plasma will be contained in this cosmic home for more than half an hour, whereas in a terrestrial laboratory it could only be contained for a fraction of a second.

That means more than half an hour during which research scientists can study how the hole opened up by the metallic steam plasma cloud in the magnetic field is closed again.

Four satellites will take measurements from various vantage points. Optical readings will also be taken by Nasa research aircraft and planes of the US and Argentinian air forces.

"The Firewheel Project is a unique opportunity of performing a physics experiment we have been long been dreaming of," says Dr Gerhard Haerendel, director of the Max Planck Institute.

His staff had only two years in which to design and test their satellite. Firewheel has not been in the pipeline for years and years.

It is, they say, a scientific quickie that partly owes its existence to the disruption of the European Space Agency's research programme in April 1977 when Geos 1, a European research satellite, failed to go into orbit because of a defect in its US launcher rocket.

At short notice Geos 2 was launched in its place. Geos 2 was to have been put into orbit by the second Ariane rocket, which was suddenly without a payload, so Europe was on the lookout for a relatively inexpensive replacement to make use of a launching that was to take place in any case.

The Max Planck extra-terrestrial physicists got to work and designed and built their Firewheel, which is 1.40 metres in diameter and three metres tall. It was their bid to gain as much scientific knowledge as possible at the least possible expense from the Ariane launching, given the risk an experimental launching inevitably entailed.

In lectures to Esa, Nasa and a variety of research organisations, Dr Haerendel outlined the Munich project in glowing colours.

His mission was successful. The Munich scientists were lent and given equipment and measuring devices left over from earlier projects.

Normally expensive remote-control command and surveillance systems were supplied free of charge. Costs were cut to the bone.

The eventual extra cost to the Munich institute should be a mere DM3m, or a 40th of what a satellite mission would normally costs. *Dorina Hartmann*

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 19 April 1980)

Airport device detects storms quickly

West Berlin Free University meteorologists have designed an early warning device for storms that has been installed at Tempelhof airport.

As soon as a computer cable has been laid to the meteorology department four miles away, duty meteorologists will be able to see on a monitor screen where there is thunder and lightning.

The device will enable weather-watchers to spot storm clouds in time and forestall serious damage. A stroke of lightning was to blame, for instance, for the total power blackout in New York a few years ago.

Reliable early warning systems will make it possible to take effective counter-measures such as switching off power station and sub-station units that may be hit.

So the West Berlin meteorologists have been working on storm early warning systems for about 20 years.

Their new device, so far the only one of its kind, includes a cross-shaped framework antenna of the kind used in radio tracking. It indicates the direction in which the storm is likely to erupt.

Electrical and magnetic impulses emitted by the impending storm are measured to assess how far away it is. The further away it is, the weaker the signals.

There is one major drawback, however. The device can only give advance warning of lightning that hits the ground.

Lightning that merely travels from one cloud to another or shoots out at angles in the atmosphere is still causing meteorologists a headache. *ddp*

(Die Welt, 22 April 1980)

'Wide implications of changes in atmosphere

Bremer Nachricht

By the mid-21st century, if m ner, the carbon dioxide coun atmosphere is likely to double agree it will mean political dyn

Climate specialists reckon th temperature will increase by two and three degrees centigrade the world, which seems sure to North-South trouble.

Or so says Klaus Meyer-Abic Essen professor of natural philoso an article in the Frankfurt rev science and technology *Umscha Wissenschaft und Technik.*

He reckons the change in clima be more to the detriment of the de ping countries than to that of th dustrialised world.

Countries in the southern hemis (the South of North-South) are lik be it by lower rainfall and a decli living standards.

Professor Meyer-Abich does not discount the possibility of crop yi plummeting by 50 per cent with years.

But since there are Third W countries that stand, in the long run benefit from climate changes, the carb dioxide problem will probably lead to distribution conflict within the Thi World too.

Scientific estimates put the cur mean carbon dioxide count at 335 p per million, increasing by one or t parts per year.

By the time it reaches between and 600ppm the world's climate wil comparable to that ofthe intergl period of about 125,000 years ago.

In those days lions and hippos in the forests of southern England claims. But there will be a catastro climate risk once the carbon dio count reaches 750ppm (plus or m 15 per cent).

The Arctic will melt, the water of the world's oceans will rise by 5 7m and the climate and rainfall belt move 600 km to 700 km north tow the North Pole.

Professor Hermann Flohn of writing in the same issue of the Fra furt magazine, reckons the carbon di ide-induced Heat Age is potenti much more dangerous than the ris atomic energy entails.

Professor Meyer-Abich reviews the possible approaches to the problem:

- Prevention: the generation of car dioxide is to be forestalled within s cified limits by finding substitutes fossil fuels.
- Compensation: undesirable effe are offset by worldwide efforts.
- Adaptation: undesirable effects climate changes are offset nationally individually.

He reckons the prevention stra

Continued on page 9

■ AVIATION

Warning over rising cost of fighters

If the cost of military aircraft continues to increase the Bonn Government would not be able to afford to buy modern jet fighters, according to Defence Minister Hans Apel.

Speaking at the Hanover International Aircraft Exhibition, Herr Apel emphasised the financial responsibility of the aviation and aerospace industries and urged them to keep costs down.

The Minister was opening the fair, the first defence minister to do so.

He gave a dramatic example of increasing costs: in 1965 a Starfighter cost about DM5.5m. The Tornado aircraft's estimated price in 1970 was DM28m — and now costs DM67m.

Apel said that though there could be no comparison in technical terms between the two aircraft, the dramatic cost development from one system to the next could not go on at the same rate.

The minister spoke of a cost explosion which was putting severe strains on the Defence Ministry budget.

The Government intends to maintain and improve this country's defence capacity and to halt this development. This means that the industry must try harder to reduce costs.

Of course a patent recipe for the solution to this problem was not found at the Hanover exhibition. But it is important that the West German aircraft industry should intensify its efforts in the civil aviation field and thus reduce its dependence on military orders at the same time as widening its production basis and reducing overall costs.

The case of the European Airbus underlines how difficult it is to be not only technologically but also economically successful in the civil aircraft market.

On the one hand, the project has been a worldwide success. Sales have increased fourfold since the last aircraft exhibition two years ago, passing the 400 mark.

On the other hand, they are not even half way to the break-even point at which all production and development costs would be covered. To break even, the European space industry would have to sell 860 Airbuses.

This means the aviation industry has to work even more rationally, pushing the number of hours per product even lower.

The possible merger between Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) of Munich and the Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke (VFW) of Bremen was a much-discussed subject at Hanover.

The aim of such a merger would be to improve the structure of the industry as a whole and make it more competitive on world markets.

This merger, which would in effect be a take-over by MBB of VFW, has been on the cards for the past two years but has been held up recently by the hesitant attitude of Fried Krupp Ltd and United Technologies Corporation (UTC), major shareholders in VFW.

There was much speculation in Hanover about the motives for this delay. The American partner, which specialises in making helicopters, obviously wants to keep a foot in the European market.

The Bonn Government is the German aircraft industry's main customer, indeed the industry is largely dependent on government orders. So Bonn has a right to expect negotiations to be completed as quickly and positively as possible.

The West German aircraft and aerospace industry has an annual turnover of about DM6bn and employs 60,000 people but its importance to the economy as a whole is greater than these figures indicate.

In 1977, for example, it spent eight times more on research and development than the average in German industry, though only a small amount of this investment was paid for out of its own pocket. Apel says this is yet another reason for politicians to take a critical look at the industry.

Exports account for 40 per cent of the industry's turnover, the innovation rate is a very high 60 per cent of total turnover. These factors, plus the intensity of research and development, make aviation a key industry.

Because of its key industry status, aviation has enjoyed high government subsidies for which it has impressive technological and economic achievements to show.

Another factor which has helped the industry has been the concern of the *Länder* to maintain highly-skilled jobs.

Herr Apel's speech at Hanover indicated that in future politics will make tougher demands of the industry. It will have to rely more on its own strength and be less a "permanent recipient of public subsidies."

In return, Apel promised the industry "support from the flanks", but this did not mean guaranteed sales or guaranteed employment levels.

Hanover comes second to Le Bourget as a market for technological innovations. However, it is extremely important as a forum in which companies show the public what they have produced and developed in many cases with taxpayers' money. *Volker Wörl*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 April 1980)

Continued from page 8

will only stand a chance of the prevention of climate changes can, as it were, be coupled with other benefits, such as cutting back carbon dioxide output by means of energy saving.

He takes a dim view of the compensation strategy because, for instance, planting 1,000bn trees to absorb carbon dioxide would be a doubtful starter from the cost-effect ratio angle.

The adaptation strategy would need to be a long-term approach, calling less for major political decisions than for learning step by step. It is, Professor Meyer-Abich says, well worth considering.

"Adaptation of national economies to changed climate circumstances and migration by millions of people will entail substantial, albeit relatively distant expenditure."

But these costs are, he feels, bearing in mind other unsolved development problems, "merely a peripheral and additional burden on an account that is already heavily overdrawn." *dpa*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 19 April 1980)



Lower Saxony Finance Minister Birgit Breuel and Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel at the Hanover air show. The aircraft is an Alpha Jet. (Photo: dpa)

Crucial discussions at Hanover air show

The Hanover air show has established itself as the third major European airshow after Le Bourget and Farnborough. This year there was a record of 364 exhibitors from 16 countries.

The show underlines the importance of the European aviation industry, which has sold over 400 of its "whispering giants", the Airbus A 300 and A 310, making it a strong competitor for the US aviation industry.

There are 150 aircraft at the exhibition, including the giant 75-metre Galaxa C-5 A transporter; the AWACS early warning aircraft; and the American fighter jets F-111 and F-15 A, which fly at two and a half times the speed of sound.

On show for the first time ever will be the spectacular German-Japanese multi-purpose helicopter BK 117 built by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm and Kawasaki.

Visitors to the Hanover show will be able to look around the E-3 A "flying command headquarters" as well as the galaxy.

The 13th International Aviation Exhibition was opened by Bonn Minister of Defence Hans Apel and French general Jacques Mitterand, member of the board of French aviation concern Aerospatiale and president of the European Aviation Industry Association.

One of the main features of this year's exhibition will undoubtedly be discussions on the future of the aviation and aerospace industries.

Never before have there been so many specialist conferences with foreign and German aviation experts.

The most important symposium, on 29 April, is on civil aircraft of the 1980s. Here, experts from manufacturers and airlines, from the International Civil Aviation Authority and the US space organisation NASA, will discuss new types of aircraft, new technologies and future fuel and environmental problems.

The German Aviation and Aerospace Research and Experiment Centre (DFVLR) is holding a specialist conference on new materials in aviation and aerospace on 28 April.

The exhibition will end with conferences on the Shuttle Spacelab and space travel in the year 2000.

This year, the Soviet Union has, for the first time, stayed away. In past years, it has been disappointed by its failure to sign lucrative sales contracts at western fairs.

Israel, however, is represented, with its attractive, slightly modified business jet, West Wind. There are also military versions of this used as coastguard and naval patrol planes.

Despite the absence of the Soviet Union, the East bloc is well represented.

Rumania is exhibiting motorised and non-motorised gliders and Poland is exhibiting its remarkable agricultural aircraft, which meet the highest international standards.

Though there is a clear trend at Hanover towards heavier respresentation of military aircraft as at Farnborough, Hanover still remains the number one trade fair for small aircraft, as the US manufacturers Beeach, Cessna and Piper are fully aware. This sector provides one third of all the aircraft on show, about 50.

Hanover has become a major sales fair for this section of civil aviation, which transports 90m passengers a year and



still enjoys astonishing growth rates despite the huge rise in fuel prices.

The heaviest growth is in the business travel sector with company or chartered planes ranging from one-motor planes to small jets costing several million DM.

American, German and Polish aircraft manufacturers agree: "We want to sell planes in Hanover. And there is nowhere in Europe where we have better chances than here."

A company spoksman of Denzel AG of Augsburg, who represent Beech Aircraft Corporation of the US, one of the three major manufacturers of business jets, said: "Hanover is an absolute must for us. Here we meet our customers." In this he was certainly speaking for the entire industry.

One company comparison between Hanover and Le Bourget: "The Aero Salon in Paris is better for spectators but Hanover is more important for sales because our customers have ideal opportunities to compare."

Karl Morgenstern/dpa

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 23 April

THE CINEMA

Fate plays its hand in start of a career

German director Hans W. Geissendörfer began making films almost by accident with a documentary about the Kurds in Iran. He did it while on holiday to impress a girl.

His passion for the girl died, but his love of the cinema remained.

He says: "When I'm filming I have nothing else in my head. The film is then my lover, friend and enemy. I sleep near it and its images haunt my dreams. Film-making is not for normal people!"

He grins to himself and says he is surprised that his marriage to Jane, an art student, has lasted two full years. Because of her moved to London.

He likes the place and the English way of life. He says that a few weeks ago he crashed into a Jaguar while driving his Austin. The Jaguar owner invited him to tea. Geissendörfer said this was typically English.

He studied German literature and African languages at university and originally wanted to be a travel correspondent. Then he made the documentary film about the Kurds.

Today, after 10 years in the cinema, Geissendörfer is one of the leading German film-makers and has twice won national film prizes. His film version of the Highsmith novel *The Glass Cell* was nominated for an Oscar — the first German film to be nominated for 20 years.

Geissendörfer, 38-year-old son of a vicar from Augsburg, has never made a great fuss about his work, which has led some to classify him as a minor young film-maker.

Certainly his work, much of which has been shown on television, is confusingly wide in range and style.

To learn his trade without the benefit of a film academy course, Geissendörfer tried his hand, together with cameraman Robby Müller, at just about every film genre.

At the beginning of his career, unversed in film aesthetics, he told the sentimental tale of the Bavarian authoress *Lena Christ*; in his film *Jonathan* he broke the blood-sucking domination of the vampires; in *Eine Rose für Jane*, he produced a screen version of Melville's thriller.

His *Don Carlos* put Schiller's hero into Western gear. His film *Eltern* was an excursion into the world of horror. *Perahim* was a suspense film in the Hitchcock tradition. Finally he transferred Ibsen's *Wild Duck* brilliantly and meticulously from the stage to the screen.

Geissendörfer's films, consistent in their pictorial language, are sparing with words. *Rose für Jane* has only 90 syllables in it and is thus almost a silent movie.

He finds it easier to get on with women than with men when he is directing. "Perhaps because my experiences with women has always been good."

He has even embodied his own personal conflicts, such as coping with his petty-bourgeois, clerical background, in female characters — in Marie, or in the idiosyncratic Maggie in the television series Theodor Chindler. Maggie is his favourite female character from all his films.

Geissendörfer ran away from home at the age of 14. His father, an army chaplain, died on the Russian front. "But my mother was a true-blue vicar's wife. From her I inherited a load of holy relics and a good number of irrational fears."

The many rituals in his films hint at this. When he ran away, he was caught on the Greek island of Mykonos. His love of Greece has not dimmed and he still writes many of his screenplays in his little house on Rhodos.

After 10 years work, loner Geissendörfer is considered to be one of the few professionals whose work comes close to Hollywood standards.

And he knows this. But he admits that he feels very uncertain about writing his own stories. He is a director, not an author. And as good screenplay writers are rare, Geissendörfer, like many other fom directors, has recourse to literature. Asked which of his colleagues he rates most highly, he does not have to think long: "Fassbinder, by a long way. Because of his uncompromising honesty, his force, his pace. He makes a lot of his films with his own money if necessary, gets up to his ears in debt, does the camerawork, gets his team together even if he cannot pay them. There's no one else like him."

In the Red Lion pub we are lucky to get two stools at the bar. When the shops close, this tiny pub in St. James is full to bursting point. Young fellows in overalls and gentlemen in Burberries and pin-striped suits. Green pre-Raphaelite lamps and a battery of bottles hanging upside down. Glasses on the shining mahogany bar.

Tiny brass lions hang from a bell and advertise Munich *Löwenbräu* beer — because of the similarity of names. *Löwenbräu* could hardly compete with Skol, Guinness Double Diamond and Long Life on draught. Fish and chips sell like hot cakes.

The shirtsleeved landlord with the reddish moustache and drinker's nose serves pint after pint over the bar.

Geissendörfer likes pubs, but not beer. He orders vodka and tonic and chain-smokes. He uses extra-long matches to light each cigarette and does not blow out the match until it has burnt right down. He is wearing a black knitted cap à la Bergman and a light blue cord shirt. Around his neck a leather strap with a small diamond — a talisman.

He is quite tanned considering it is only spring in London. He has just returned from filming in the Mexican jungle. The film is of Ben Traven's novel *Rebellion der Gehenkten* for which he has written the screenplay. It is a joint French-Italian-German production and there is American money in it too. Four European and two American actors star, and a whole battalion of Indians.

After the Traven film, Geissendörfer hopes to realise a project he has wanted to carry out for some time: a film version of Thomas Mann's novel, *The Magic Mountain*, which he knows like the back of his hand.

It is a book he has loved since his youth, like the works of Karl May and Musil. He always takes these books with him. They are dog-eared and have drawings in the margins.

When director Geissendörfer really gets thinking and talking about his films his strong hands gesticulate wildly and energetically as if he wanted to arrange sets, direct actors. The men behind him in the pub involuntarily take a step backwards.



Hans W. Geissendörfer (Photo: ...)

He says he would also like to do a film version of Fouquet's *Little Mermaid*.

"Fairy tales are close to reality", he says. And he describes the scene with the buzz of pub chatter in the background: the mermaid leaving her underwater castle to see the world and, of course, falling in love with a mortal. A film requiring all kinds of technical effects and tricks.

Geissendörfer's explanations are rudely interrupted shortly before last orders as the landlord calls then "time." Someone intones an old boozing song, others join in.

"Away with dreams", says Geissendörfer, handing the landlord his glass. "All that counts now is the *Indians*. And then *The Magic Mountain*."

Doris Blum

(Die Welt, 24 April 1980)

The astonishing variety of Helmut Käutner

Helmut Käutner, who died last month aged 72, was one of the few directors who produced films of artistic and moral merit during the Hitler era.

Romanze in Moll (1943), based on a short story by Maupassant, was described by the Nazis as "dangerous to morals and the institution of marriage."

His film *Unter den Brücken*, was not premiered until after the war. They are not only Käutner's best films but also two of the most important films in the sterile years in which Goebbels was cultural overlord.

Born in Düsseldorf in 1908, Käutner went into cabaret after studying in Munich. He and his friends, Kurd E. Heyne, Bobby Todd and Werner Kleine, had considerable success as the *Vier Nachrichter*.

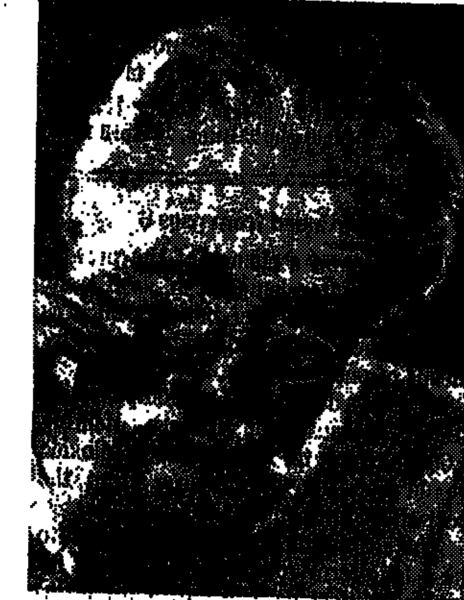
The group split up as a result of Nazi hostility. After two years as a "travelling comedian" (Käutner) in Leipzig, Munich and the Berlin Comics' Cabaret, Käutner started his film career as a script writer, writing screenplays for *Schneider Wibbel*, *Salonwagen E 417* and *Die Stimme aus dem Äther*.

In 1939 he directed his first feature film, *Kitty und die Weltkonferenz*, with Hannelore Schroth, then only 17.

When the film was first shown, experts spoke of a "young Lubitsch" but Hitler's Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop, who felt insulted by the character of the British diplomat, Sir Horace Ashlin, (played by Fritz Odemar), got Goebbels to ban it.

One of the strange absurdities of those years was that Käutner was still allowed to work.

Käutner was in trouble again — this time with Admiral Dönitz — for his 1944 film, *Grosse Freiheit Nr. 7*, starring Hans Albers. Dönitz complained to Goebbels that the film portrayed a sailor getting drunk. The teetotaler's protest was successful. *Grosse Freiheit Nr. 7* was passed for showing abroad but banned in Germany.



Helmut Käutner (Photo: dpa)

It is strange that Käutner's best films were produced in the Hitler era. He once said that art was smuggled into films. If this is true, his talent as a smuggler declined after 1945. In many cases, though, it was not Käutner but commercial cinema that was to blame for this.

After 1945, Käutner never achieved the formal balance and stylistic unity of his films *Romanze in Moll*, *Unter den Brücken*, *Anuschka* (1941), *Auf Wiedersehen, Franziska* (1941), even though most of his films were still well above average.

His most famous post-war films were: *In jenen Tagen* (1947), *Die letzte Brücke* (1953), *Des Teufels General* (1954), *Himmel ohne Sterne* (1955) and *Der Hauptmann von Köpenick* (1956).

The thematic variety of Käutner's work is astonishing. There are worlds of difference between films such as *Frau nach Mass* (1940) and *Schwarzer Kies* (1960), *Der Apfel ist ab* (1948) and *Bildnis einer Unbekannten* (1954).

Master of film technique though he was, Käutner could not cope equally well with such divergent subjects and filmic genres.

His personal characteristics were attention to detail and a sometimes almost pointilliste delight in props — perhaps a relic of his days in cabaret.

In difficult years, Käutner had to wear disguise, to encode and veil what he wanted to say. Perhaps it was this necessity to wear a mask which made him seek the most consistent stylistic means of expression.

Some time ago, Helmut Käutner, who was not in the best of health, gave up his house in Berlin and retired to Tuscany, where he died at the age of 72.

Henning Harmssen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 23 April 1980)

THE ARTS

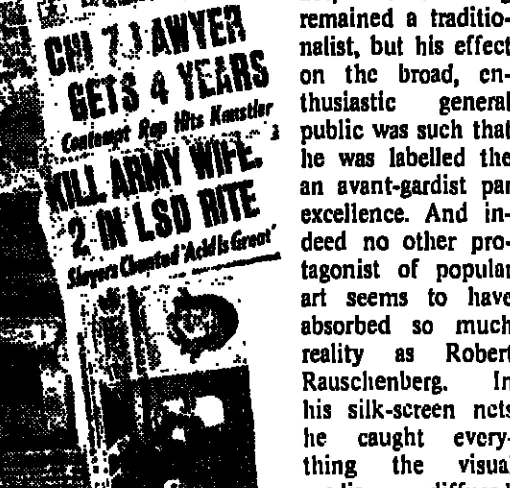


Exhibition changes artist's pop-art label

The Berlin Kunsthalle is now holding an exhibition of the work of Robert Rauschenberg. After Berlin, the exhibition will be shown in Düsseldorf, Paris, Copenhagen, Frankfurt and Munich.

Rauschenberg's work is characterised by an unending and vital delight in artistic experiment. The Berlin exhibition gives an excellent overviews of his development from rebellious iconoclast to the perfect producer and executor of his own designs.

Rauschenberg, born in Texas in 1925, has the reputation of being one of the original pop-artists but the Berlin exhibition underlines how false this label is.



'Currents Collage'

There are just under 250 of his works on show here: combine-paintings, drawings, prints and reproductions (of his illustrations for Dante's *Inferno*). The proportion of pop-art works is surprisingly small in view of his reputation.

Andy Warhol, Claes Oldenburg and George Segal have all produced work which gives the feeling of life in the USA in the 1960s more accurately than Rauschenberg's work. Rauschenberg's formal experiments belong in a wider artistic tradition.

One of the surprise of the exhibition is that it shows how strong the European influence on Rauschenberg was — and especially that of Kurt Schwitters. It is dadaism revised, without the schoolboyish jokes — an aesthetically dead serious matter.

In his combine paintings, Rauschenberg puts real objects as set-pieces into his pre-conceived image. These objects then lose their own life, their history and even their magic as soon as the compositorical or coloristic gap into which they can be fitted has been discovered.

"A pair of socks are just as suitable for the production of a picture as wood, nails, turpentine, oil, material."

Rauschenberg's recourse to the *objet trouvé* was not particularly original but he disguised this with the vitality and intelligence of his work.

The combination of drive and dada was a happy one.

The most interesting part of the exhibition is therefore the work of the late 50s and early 60s, when Rauschenberg began "homogeneously to put together diverging units" as his critic, Lawrence Alloway, puts it.

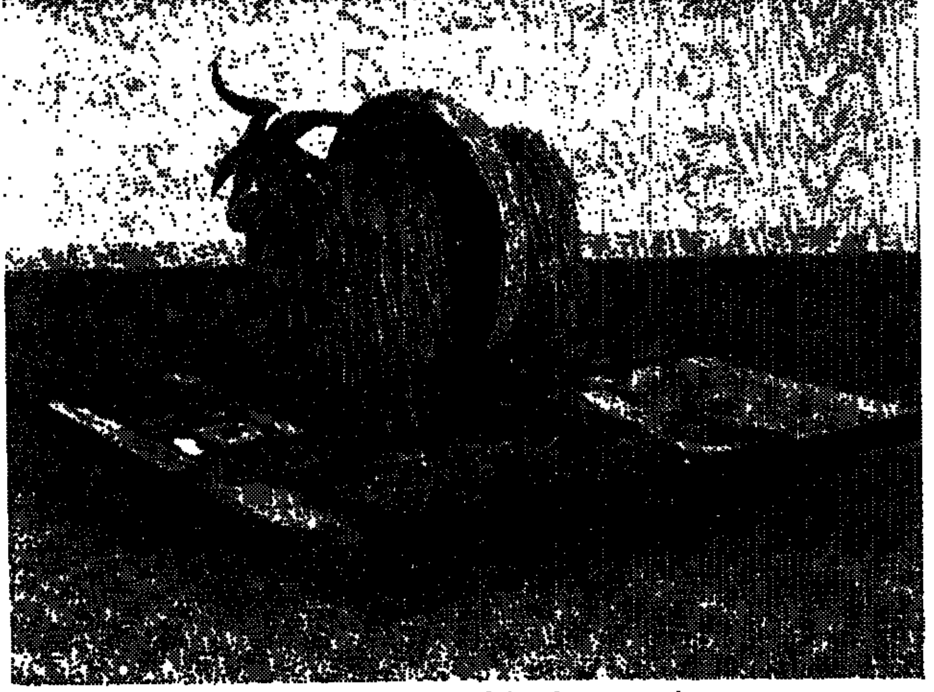
Rauschenberg collected most of his material from rubbish tips or out of dustbins. This use of the products of the emergent affluent society is what distinguished Rauschenberg from his colleagues, who presented their subjects in neat silk-screen prints or in three dimensional plaster.

In his recourse to European art of the 20s, Rauschenberg remained a traditionalist, but his effect on the broad, enthusiastic general public was such that he was labelled the an avant-gardist par excellence. And indeed no other protagonist of popular art seems to have absorbed so much reality as Robert Rauschenberg. In his silk-screen nets he caught everything the visual media diffused, from the news of the world-shaking event to the commentators' critical footnote. Rauschenberg met the challenge of the ready-made images, he halted them and — in the Hoarfrost series — to a certain extent "froze" them.

One of his prints shows a herd of sheep and atomic power stations blasted by lightning. It is no accident that one associates this with the Holy Shroud.

As a theoretician, Rauschenberg says visual art has the disadvantage that "the producer has to make final decisions."

He compares this with the transitory possibilities of the stage, which he got to know through working with choreographer Merce Cunningham and composer John Cage.



'Monogram', Rauschenberg's best-known work.

(Photos: Catalogue)

Rauschenberg, with a trace of envy, once said of the theatre: "The theatre remains one of the most demanding and purest art forms. There is no separation between life and art. The individualist is the medium."

In the solitude of the studio, even if the studio is full of assistants, there can only be in Rauschenberg's view "an unpredictable, silent dialogue between the material, the artist and the process." The only analogies are with music: "We listen in a certain time — and out looking must also take place in this space of time."

Rauschenberg ensures the necessary dramatic tension by all kinds of artistic devices, which are never merely intrusive: in brief by formally balanced optical sensations.

Rauschenberg's early career was one of opposition to established art dogmas. At Black Mountain College, he constantly did not get on with his teacher, Josef Albers; later he rebelled against abstract expressionism, then the dominant artistic mode. He even went so far as demonstratively to rub out a drawing he had got from Willem de Kooning.

More than a decade before Yves Klein's *Anthropometries*, Rauschenberg was producing blueprints of female nudes, though here it was the pose, the *en face*, and not the movement that interested him.

After the blueprints of the late forties, Rauschenberg stopped portraying people directly in his work.

Rauschenberg's *Bed* (1955) is a seminal work of modern art. Three years later, at the Festival of Two Worlds in Spoleto, it was stowed away in a store room. Rauschenberg tips the bed up vertically, pencils over the pillow, paints over the sheet in broad strokes, which drop onto the patchwork quilt.

In his combine paintings of the following years, Rauschenberg is saying that our age no longer allows complete, compact images, that reality can only be expressed in bits of reproductions, in used objects and in ironic titles.

In his 1965 environment Oracle the rubbish of the technological world creates a cacophony of car radio music, rustling and hissing.

Rauschenberg, a modern enlightener, mockingly puts the final stroke under the illusion of the total work of art and passes on to the order of the day, the panel painting.

His experiments with box board (cut in the manner of Fontana) and monochrome silk cloths (Jammers, with nautical motifs) were only episodes.

For the past three years, Rauschenberg has been recapitulating his previous method of putting images from the world of media into alienated combinations — a hamburger next to a classical sculpture, a stolid sofa next to a bull-fight.

The images are now printed on textile collages and mirrors underneath make them appear double.

The style of Rauschenberg's latest work has affinities with constructivism but seem more like continuations of his experiments by others.

The viewer, attracted by the coloured light, glamour and chic, will not as a rule bother to decipher the tame pictorial riddles. But there is no doubt whatever that the perfect arrangements of colour and form is the work of a first-rate painter.

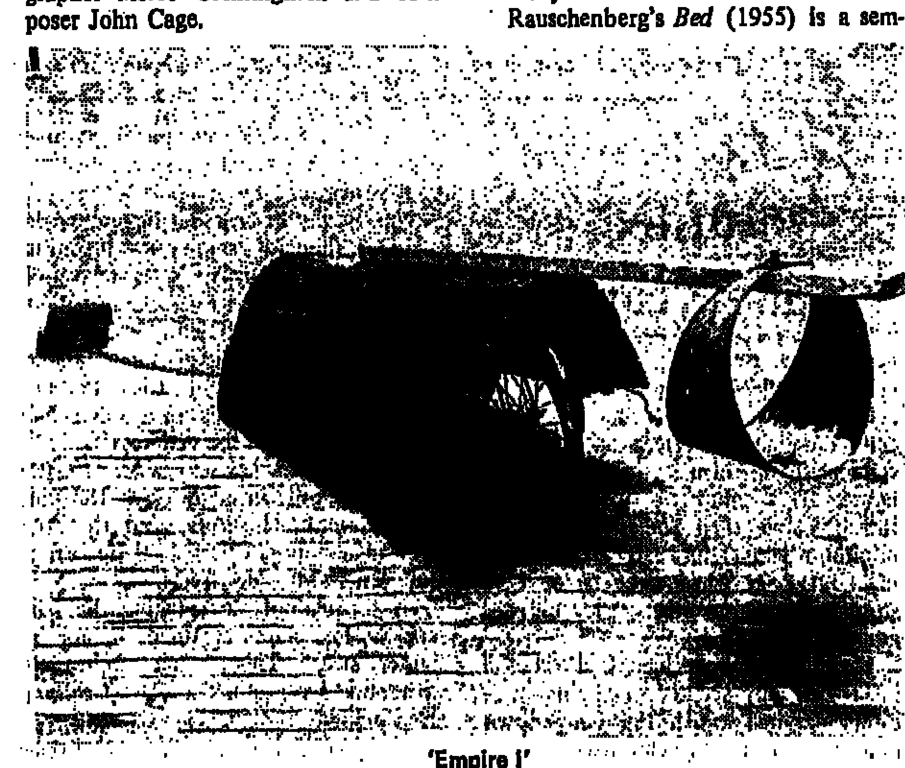
At Rauschenberg's request, his most recent works are on display at the entrance to the exhibition. He wants us to regard them as most representative. The intelligent challenge of the combine-paintings come at the end of the exhibition, which is arrenged chronologically.

Rauschenberg's stylistic leaps, his nonchalance and his lightness of touch obviously alarm some European viewers.

Replying to a journalist's pedantic question about perspectives for the future, Rauschenberg neither spouted statements nor shrugged his shoulders but retorted: "That's my secret, you know."

Camilla Blechen

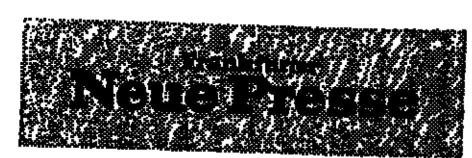
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 April 1980)



'Empire I'

■ HEALTH

Doctors warned of 'human body time bombs'



A dead tooth, adenoids or even a small splinter of glass in the skin can become time-bombs in the human body and lead to cancer if they are not removed in time, doctors at a conference in Bad Nauheim were told.

Specialists of the German Disease Matrix and Regulation Research Association (DAH) appealed to general practitioners to be on the lookout for danger spots such as these and to eliminate all symptoms which could lead to chronic inflammation.

Dr Armin Knolle of Heiligenhafen, president of the DAH, explained that chronic illness matrices prevented the body's immune system from functioning effectively.

This system destroys degenerate cells but not cancer cells, because it cannot identify them.

The DAH's research had shown that chronic illness matrices were often the cause of this, because they changed and blocked the area around the cells.

The blockage of this basic system, the area surrounding the cells and consisting of tissue fluid, vegetative nerve-end fibres small blood vessels and lymph vessels, probably allowed carcinogenic substances to enter. Once the illness matrices had been removed, the surrounding area returned to normal and the blockage was removed.

Not every chronic illness matrix led to cancer. Dr. Felix Perger, director of the Vienna Polyclinic, said that on average patients with incipient malignant tumours in his clinic had 2½ to 3½ such chronic illness matrices.

Perger and his colleague, Dr Pischinger developed a test which identified matrix activity in the body, enabling possible risk factors to be identified in time. In this test, the patient is injected with elpimed, a fatty acid produced in the body.

The patient's blood is then tested. This has now become a standard test in German clinics. When the test shows risk areas, the areas are found and removed.

In primary matrices in the head area, an operation is generally needed. Secondary matrices are for example scars which have not healed properly, excessively high heavy metal levels (from food), fungus infections of the stomach or lack of calcium. These risk symptoms can be eliminated by conventional methods.

According to the DAH, this is the only effective means of cancer prevention to date: Knolle says: "If one cannot cure, one must prevent. But what we call cancer prophylaxis in this country is not prophylaxis, because a tumour can only be identified when the tumour has already formed."

As there is no cure for cancer, this so-called prevention came too late.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 21 April 1980)

Noise a cause of stress

Noise is one of the main causes of stress. It can make you ill, according to the German Medical Association.

In an advice note to patients, it says that a noise level of from 65 to 80 decibels puts a severe strain on the ears and more than 90 decibels can damage hearing.

Decibel levels of commonly used implements are: electric lawn mowers from 64 to 80; dish washers 69; hand mixers 82; vacuum cleaners 73.

Noise distracts, wakes people up and "alarms" inner organs such as the heart and stomach, and the circulation.

Noise is particularly harmful to people who do heavy manual labour and need rest. But it is also harmful to non-manual workers and sick or convalescing people.

The doctors stressed that the human organism could not get used to noise, the hearing could not be switched off.

Noise caused by neighbours was, they said, often more harmful than the noise from traffic. Conflicts between neighbours could make life intolerable for sensitive people.

They advise people using noisy household implements and drills to keep their windows shut. Radios, they say, should not be played on balconies and doors should not be slammed. Drivers of cars, motor-bikes and mopeds should also try to make as little noise as possible.

ddp

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 19 April 1980)

'TV cure' for eye defect

Children can correct squints by watching television, says Professor Dieter Friedburg of Düsseldorf Eye Clinic.

He recommends that children with weak eyes or squints should watch TV with their weak eye only for 10 minutes a week and this would markedly improve their eyesight.

The reason for this is the structure of the TV picture. The lines of which the image is composed and the constant flickering make the eye work harder and thus strengthen sight.

Professor Friedburg stressed, however, that he stronger eye had to remain covered and only the weaker eye should be used.

(Welt am Sonntag, 20 April 1980)

Everyday living takes a toll

Many people become ill simply because of everyday living, delegates to a specialists conference have been told.

Eberhard Buchborn, president of the 86th Internal Medicine Specialists' Conference in Wiesbaden that every second patient who went to his doctor was not physically ill.

The patient was suffering from a psychological malaise caused by personal life or the stresses of life.

Internal medicine, he said, tried to see the person as a whole and should therefore pay more attention to the psycho-social factors in illness.

He complained that there were legal restrictions on cooperation between internal specialists and psychologists and that cooperation with social medicine specialists was still in the very early stages.

Social medicine, although an offshoot of internal medicine, had developed methods which could not be directly applied in internal medicine.

It would be some time before internal medicine could adapt these methods.

The internal medicine specialists' conference is the largest conference of specialists in West Germany. Professor Buchborn said that 60 to 80 per cent of all illnesses came under the heading internal illnesses. Internal medicine, he explained, was subdivided into another 20 special areas.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 16 April 1980)

Instant food for old people asked for

No one had yet marketed ready-made food for old people, although this had been done for babies and for cats and dogs, a conference has been told.

This amounted to an aspect of discrimination against the old, according to social medicine specialist Professor Böhlau.

He told the 1980 Senior Citizens' Congress in Karlsruhe that cat and dog food had all the vitamins and proteins needed.

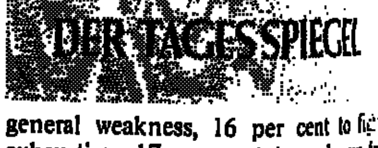
Yet no food was on the market that met the needs of old people.

Professor Böhlau, president of the Senior Citizens curatorium, said that there were now 18m people over 60 in this country — out of a total population of 60m.

Twenty five years ago a pensioner could only expect to draw his pension for 18 months. Now, life expectancy had increased so that the average pensioner today lives for 12 years after his retirement.

This showed how important the organisation of leisure activities for the old was. Many old, people, he added, also suffered from illnesses "that had their origins in younger years" and did not hurt. The main such illnesses were arteriosclerosis, circulatory problems and early stages of cancer.

One in five citizens over the age of 60 uses tonics and pick-me-ups. Pharmacologist Reinhardt of Giessen said that 21 per cent used tonics to compensate for weaknesses, 2 per cent to combat



general weakness, 16 per cent to fight exhaustion, 17 per cent to make up for lack of iron and 12 per cent to combat nervousness.

These substances did not rejuvenate but slowed down the ageing process and helped older people become more physically and mentally active.

Among the substances which activate bodily forces are garlic, ginseng, valerian and balm. The effectiveness of these substances has been scientifically proven.

The congress was also told that people over 50 should not be made to do shift work unless they were used to it. The work rate of shift workers over 45 was not as good as that of younger workers.

This was understandable as older people found it more difficult to adjust to work with fixed hours. Old people worked well when they were allowed to work according to their own rhythms.

One speaker in a lecture on old people's homes said that the old people should still be able to do their own housekeeping when they entered the home. They should be allowed to bring their own furniture with them and thus preserve their own identity.

Homes were advised to employ more psychotherapeutic staff. The general trend at the congress was to reject mere "care" and to encourage old people to be active and decide for themselves.

Old people were no longer prepared to accept anything and everything. They expected, and had a right to expect, decent accommodation and a high quality of life.

dpa/ddp

(Der Tagesspiegel, 20 April 1980)

Institute puts volunteers underground

Tests on volunteers living in bunkers, completely cut off from the outside world, have shown that the body has its own built-in sleep programme.

The tests, which have been going for several years, are organised, by scientists from the Max Planck Institute of Behavioural Research and Psychiatry.

The volunteers spend four weeks in the bunker, near the Ammersee in Bavaria. They receive no information from the outside world and do not know the time. They do not know when it is day or night. They can sleep whenever they want but before doing so they have to connect a number of electrodes to their face and breasts.

Scientists found that although the volunteers were completely cut off from outside influences, they went to bed regularly and woke up even more regularly. The activity and rest cycles were not appreciably different from those of a normal day. However, the cycle in the bunker lasted 25 and not 24 hours.

Observations showed that beginning and duration of sleep are closely connected with changes in body temperature. The volunteers went to bed shortly before their bodies reached the minimum temperature early in the evening. But even when sleepers went to sleep hours before others, they did not awake any earlier.

The scientists conclude that external influences only act as "social time-indicators" against which the body's own inner rhythms are "synchronised."

This means that sleeplessness may often be caused by the instability of the body's rhythms.

This is why behavioural therapy is the main method of combating insomnia today. This therapy includes relaxation exercises designed to distract the patient from the problem of falling asleep. One such method is that of the "paradox intention": the patient tries to stay awake by keeping his eyes open and fixed on a point in the darkness.

The scientists advise against the use of sleeping pills in many cases. Hartmut Schulz, of the Institute, said that the sleep-inducing effects of these drugs were often only side-effects.

"If the patient stops taking the tablets, the lost stages are made up for by lighter sleep. This is an unpleasant withdrawal symptom. The patient cannot sleep properly."

Karl Stankiewicz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 April 1980)

■ THE PENAL SYSTEM

Prisoners take advantage of changes in law to speak their mind

A recent meeting at Butzbach prison in Hesse would probably have come as something of a shock for those with traditional views about the role of prisons.

The subject under discussion was the purpose of the prison system and possible improvements.

Among the parties was an elected delegation of prisoners, which took a critical stance.

Also present were the prison governor, a representative of the Hesse Ministry of Justice, professors of law and social psychology and Countess Brigitta Wolf, known as the Prisoners' Angel.

The meeting, suggested by elected prisoners' representatives (GMV) would have been inconceivable 10 years ago. However the legal position has changed. The new prison law allows prisoners to have a say in the way they are treated in prison.

So when the Butzbach prisoners requested the discussion, the Justice Ministry and the prison administration had little choice but to comply.

The ministry officials originally refused to allow the press into the meeting, but in the end, reluctantly, relented. Ministry sources stated that they were worried the prisoners would give journalists a distorted picture of reality within the prison walls.

They probably sensed that the prisoners would not stick very long to the subject, about the rights and possibilities of prisoners' representation, but would talk uninhibitedly about the differences between intentions and reality in the treatment of prisoners.

The prisoners' representatives gave a long list of things they found wrong. The main point is that Butzbach prison is far too full.

Three prisoners have to live in room originally designed for two. There is not enough satisfying and worthwhile work to be done. Prisoners are only allowed 12 visiting hours a year.

Many marriages break up because of this. The prisoner only has two hours free time a day. The motto of lower prison officials is: "Keep everything quiet." It is very rare indeed that a prisoner is able to see the governor.

Countess Brigitta Wolf has been working on behalf of prisoners since 1936 and knows how prisons work well.

Her criticisms were even more scathing. She said that the Basic Law was constantly being violated. "Where is the dignity of prisoners tied up in padded cells?" she asked. Was it compatible with human dignity that prisoners on leave had a 30 centimetre pipe shoved into their intestines to see if they were smuggling drugs into the prison?

She also criticised the appalling overcrowding in the prisons, and quoted the governess of Frankfurt Preuungsheim prison as saying: "It is terrible; I literally have to squeeze the prisoners in."

Referring to the progressive penal law she asked pointedly: "Why can a state which makes laws also break those laws?" And a prisoner put it even more vividly: "I am a burglar, but I cannot simply ignore the law on breaking and entering and say that as far as I am concerned it does not exist."

Christoph Kulenkampff, administrative assistant to Hesse Justice Minister Herbert Günther, said that the Justice Ministry also wished to solve the problem of overcrowding in prisons. No one was interested in having overcrowded and understaffed prisons but that the situation would not change appreciably in the foreseeable future because the ministry did not have the necessary funds.

Kulenkampff said that the ministry would only get more money if the general public and parliament were convinced that investments in the justice area were necessary. He said there was little likelihood of this in the near future.

Kulenkampff concluded on a note of resignation: "We are already asking more of our staff than the laws and pay agreements permit."

A prisoner asked prison governor Klaus Winchenbach: "Why can't you refuse to take any more prisoners? After all you are finally responsible for the high rate of recidivism."

Winchenbach said that this simply was not possible, on legal grounds. "All I can do is refuse to take individual prisoners. In some cases I have recommended postponements of imprisonment."

Kulenkampff was pessimistic about the prospects of not giving prison sentences. He said this was just pushing the mountain ahead of one.

He said one possibility of improving the situation was pardons such as those given by Justice Minister Günther, by means of which prisoners were released after serving half and not two-thirds of their sentences.

A number of those in the discussion were very sceptical about this proposal. Like the German Judges Association, some of these said that this solution was not permissible.

Prison governor Winchenbach made clear in one sentence how things would go on: "We can't bother our heads with all these big questions; we have to ensure that business goes on."

The prison governor and the prisoners' representatives will not have an easy time with one another in the future.

Jürgen Schenk

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 April 1980)

'Social therapy' concept of new jail in Kassel

Kassel's new jail, scheduled for completion in October, will not be run solely by a governor with legal training. The duties will be shared by a lawyer and a psychologist.

The lawyer is an administrator who will be mainly responsible for security in the prison. The psychologist will be responsible for treatment.

He will, for instance, be responsible if a man he lets out on parole gets up to mischief again.

The new prison is to bear a no more than outward resemblance to jails of old. Inmates will benefit from social therapy (even though many may be hazy as to what it is).

"Many will probably imagine it is some kind of mental institution," says Heinz Fromm of Hesse Justice Ministry, who will be the lawyer at the helm.

Only volunteeers will be admitted, and since convicts are unlikely to volunteer for a transfer to a prison they suspect is a lunatic asylum the Justice Ministry plans to tour the state penitentiaries explaining what it is.

This is the explanation they will be given.

The new jail is designed to house 60 inmates plus an equal number of prison staff. Staff wages will amount to at least DM2.5m a year.

It is intended to cater for prisoners with "social deficits" to make good, such as those who have never known the security of family life, having always lived in a children's home, for instance.

They will be helped to learn a trade or, if they have already done so, to better themselves in it. The overriding emphasis will be on group work, both in conversation and at work, and on forging links with their "social surroundings."

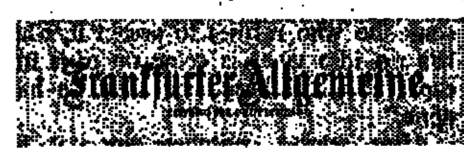
In practice this may mean that a prisoner is allowed to leave the prison in the company of a prison officer to visit relatives and friends.

Prison officers will be included in the Kassel therapy with a view to putting paid to their unpleasant status as warders, "screws" and the like.

By no means all prison officers relish the prospect of a transfer to Kassel, the Justice Ministry is well aware. As Herr Fromm puts it:

"Many officers will say to themselves that Kassel is a place for the really down and out where convicts are treated too leniently. They will prefer to stay in a conventional prison with conventional inmates."

Kassel's 1:1 prisoner-staff ratio will include 37 warders, six social workers,



four psychologists, four master-craftsmen and a special school teacher.

The psychologists' first task will be to chat with the inmates and decide what kind of therapy is likely to help them. A transfer to Kassel will be available to prisoners aged over 21 but, wherever possible, not too much over 40.

They must have between one and three years left to serve and be neither alcoholics nor drug addicts. A closed prison like Kassel is felt to be unsuitable for addicts, the Justice Ministry says.

For the time being judges will not decide who is sent to Kassel. The decision will be taken by the governor of the prison where the would-be recipient of social therapy is currently serving his sentence.

Psychologists and social workers will

Continued on page 14

■ MODERN LIVING

Battered wives from across social spectrum find a refuge

There are about 30 homes for battered wives in West Germany including two in Munich which have both been operating for about 10 years.

Their addresses are kept secret, so husbands cannot pester the wives or the institution, and are given to the wives by, in the case of Munich, welfare officials.

The fact that a man beats his wife is often a surprise to neighbours or friends. Take the case of Josef G, who, according to people who know him, is a friendly person always ready to lend a hand to others.

He often goes shopping with his wife when he comes home from the office, and he spends his entire weekend with the family.

The neighbours were most surprised when Frau G. left him one day, taking the two children with her. No-one has seen her since. All Herr G. will say is that she has gone to distant relatives.

In reality she has sought refuge in a home for battered wives.

Irene G. says her husband merely went shopping with her out of jealousy, "so no-one would speak to me. And when he wasn't with me he used to time me with a stopwatch. I was never allowed out on my own for more than five minutes at a time.

"Whenever I chatted with any of the neighbours he used to raise the roof when I got back home."

The scene was repeated time and again. First came the battle of words. His mother agreed that she was a slut. The apartment was a disgrace, the food too salty and so on and so forth. Then came the action.

"In the middle of dinner he gave me a real stinger of a clout, then chucked crockery at me like a madman and dragged me round the room by the hair.

"And if I screamed he went absolutely berserk and started bashing me against the radiator and so on."

Frau G. twice sought refuge with relatives but on both occasions was persuaded by her husband to come home. But nothing changed and he kept on beating her.

In the end she saw no alternative but to burn all her bridges, after six years of being a battered wife.

Gertrud T. stuck it out for 17 years. To begin with her husband was "really nice." Then, when their first baby was on the way, she began to notice something was wrong.

He grew aggressive, started shouting at her and occasionally used force. But her mother said: "You're pregnant. You've no choice but to marry him."

She did so but terror soon reigned. It was not always brute force. There were times when he told her to sit still for hours at a time.

"I couldn't offer resistance. He's a very strong man." But now and again he did suggest that she try hitting him back. She arrived at the refuge with a black eye and two missing teeth.

She had heard about the refuge for battered wives when *Frauenhilfe* and *Frauen helfen Frauen* launched their Munich projects more or less simultaneously.

Corporation welfare officials supplied her with an address. The addresses are otherwise kept strictly secret, in case husbands find out.

They switch over from violence to tears and try to find out the address of the refuge by subterfuges such as simulating a death in the family.

Other methods used include the services of lawyers, private detectives, pestering the mother-in-law or registering the wife as a missing person with the police.

As soon as they have found out where their wife is staying they start ringing up or calling round. They promise the earth ("I'll never touch a drop again"), claim to be suffering ("Life's not worth living without you") or utter threats.

At night men often prowl round the building, usually with friends. "They are obviously scared to come by themselves," says the woman who runs the *Frauenhilfe* refuge.

Now and again a pane of glass is shattered or the children are collected on their way home from school. "I prefer not to call it abduction," the welfare worker says.

"But when the mother has the sole right of guardianship we try to get the child back with the aid of a lawyer or the police."

Men are only allowed on the ground floor. Meetings are arranged by male social workers. Marriage counselling services are also available, but few men are prepared to take up the offer.

Even when they do, marital peace and quiet are by no means assured. Of the 250 wives who have stayed at this refuge, some for no more than a few weeks, others for over a year, about 60 per cent returned to their husband.

How did they then fare? "We can often only hazard a guess," social workers say. Some couples evidently hit it off again, others merely lead the appearance of a normal married life.

"We receive letters in which it is easy to read between the lines that everything is as bad as ever."

But a good third of the women embark on a new life of their own, and staff at the refuge reckon this is a high percentage. The women have often spent weeks and months queueing at the labour exchange and the housing department.

"If you would like to pay us a visit, you would do best to come on Wednesday afternoon. Municipal offices are shut and the women have more time."

But they also spend hours with lawyers, since most are thinking in terms of a divorce. Then there are the lengthy sessions at the social security department and at job interviews.

This what everyday life at the refuge is like. Finding a place to stay and a job is no laughing matter for a single mother with a child or two.

A place to stay at the *Frauenhaus* is often a tall order too. It only has 26 flatlets, so applicants often have to be found accommodation in a nearby *pension*.

The rent, DM10 per day, is paid by the municipal welfare department, and the social security provides a small weekly allowance. Irene G. and the two children qualify for DM55 per week.

The city of Munich helps to pay the cost of running the *Frauenhaus*, [illegible] charitable organisations. Donations [illegible] further source of income and will [illegible] be more important than ever when new flatlets are added.

The refuge also includes a kindergarten, several communal rooms [illegible] common kitchen. "Initially the [illegible] cook individual meals for them[selves] and their children," says the [illegible] who runs the *Frauenhaus*.

"They know no other way."

"But once they have been h[ere for] any length of time they share the [cook]ing." And they make friends and [illegible] for the evening.

They have to give notice if they [want] to stay out overnight or over the [week]end. When they do, it is usually [illegible] to their parents, seldom to a [illegible] or their husband.

The eight women in the other [Mu]nich refuge want nothing more [illegible] with their husbands. They and the[ir] children live communally.

Men are not allowed in the bu[ilding] and there is no marriage counsel[ling]. "We strictly reject the entire co[ncept]. As a rule it is no use at all to the w[omen] and children."

Instead they help each other – [be]cause we have to be so very careful [with] cash." Three women are out of work [and] run the home, looking after the chil[dren] of the five women who go out to w[ork].

The municipal welfare depart[ment] pays daily allowances and the rent, [plus] the salaries of a psychologist and a kin[der]garten teacher (both women).

But otherwise Munich has little [so]cial sympathy with such a feminist ins[ti]tution, even though it has lent a help[ing] hand to nearly 100 women over the [past] two years.

Take Eva S. She has no intention [of] returning to her husband, although h[er] son would like to do so "because my toys are back home." But Daddy must never hit you again, her son agrees.

One day her husband will write her the most passionate love letters. Th[e] next will bring a letter from his lawyer demanding "a half-share of the bedroom suite."

Gudrun R. had a husband who [ob]jected to her going out to work. Th[ree] times she went to complain to [the] police because he had beaten her bl[ack] and blue.

But the police were not interested. "We don't want to get involved in fami[ly] matters," they said, while the neigh[bours] said nothing at all no matter how loud she screamed while her husband battered her.

Aggressive fathers have evident[ly] made a deep impression on the child[ren]. Once the parents are separated the chil[dren] tend to think their fathers we[re] some kind of Santa Claus.

But to begin with they often get [into] trouble with brothers, sisters and [play]mates at the *Frauenhaus*. "Children [who] are beaten hit back," an old saw [illegible] has it.

The women often say their husbands were regularly beaten as children. La[ter] they tend to cling to their wives for [dear] life yet are unable to resolve a confl[ict] verbally.

Social status makes no difference, [ex]cept, perhaps, that men of better bre[ed]ing are better able to conceal their [do]mestic violence.

Their wives, for that matter, are usual[ly] better able to seek refuge with frie[nds] or relations. But women in this categ[ory] have been known to visit the *Frauen[haus]* too, be it only to use the marri[age] counselling service.

Georg Storz/Barbara Rüther

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 April 19[80])

Continued from page 13

take a look at the prison and test his skills and intelligence. Lawyer Fromm explains why:

"There is no point in trying to help someone who refuses to accept it, who has no idea what is going on or is incapable of thinking over what he has done."

After release, prisoners are not to vanish entirely from their psychologists' line of vision. The psychologists hope to be able to keep an eye on them to see if their treatment has been any use.

The project will be academically supervised by Kassel and Marburg Universities and possibly by the Central Criminal Research Department, providing it agrees to cooperate.

Kassel ex-convicts who are not immediately able to cope with life outside need not turn criminal again merely to get back inside to a roof over their heads.

They will be able to return and stay in a special separate section of the jail until they feel able to venture out into the world again.

If the Kassel experiment proves a success, a similar project will be launched in southern Hesse. *Alfred Behr*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 April 1980)

■ SPORT

Big business: the man at the helm of Hamburg SV

It has been said that the general manager of Hamburg SV football club, Günter Netzer, is only interested in making money.

"News about him should be in the business sections of the newspapers, not the sports," says a Hamburg-based writer, Rolf Italiaander.

But the business writers studiously ignore him — in contrast to the sports and gossip writers.

This seems strange, given that football and all its ramifications such as sportswear and advertising for instance involve billions of deutschemarks.

Netzer in his active days
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Netzer's job as general manager at HSV has little in common with the general view of a manager's job — and Netzer realises this: "When I compare myself with BP boss Dr Hellmuth Buddenberg, I realise that to call us both managers is an insult to him."

Netzer has no doubt that he would not make the grade as a manager in any other branch of industry.

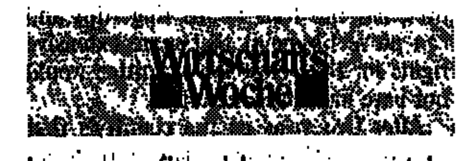
A former salesman, has been with HSV for two years now, but says it would be "incredibly arrogant" if he tried to do a similar job in any other branch of industry.

He admits that he does not understand much about finance, or at least not enough to be able to dispense with the experts at the club's headquarters in the Rothenbaumchaussee in Hamburg.

But these experts are after all, he says, there to deal with such questions and to put him in the picture. In other matters he is very knowledgeable indeed, probably more so than anyone else in the football industry.

Others reach the top thanks to hard study, instinct and professional experience. Netzer has reached his expertise more unconventionally: on the football field, in training, in the changing rooms, in discussions with club directors and managers.

He is concerned for the well-being of his employees and especially for that of the players because without their sporting success financial success cannot be achieved.



Former world class midfield player, Netzer knows all the ins and outs of the transfer markets at home and abroad, knows the prices on the football stock exchange and why the shares of players and clubs rise and fall.

He has worked out a long-term plan for keeping HSV at the top of the European prestige and money-making league.

His immediate aim is to get the club back in the black in the next two years.

Netzer's success cannot be seen in isolation from the failure of his predecessor Dr Peter Krohn who, with the exalted title of general manager, ran the club with all the whip-wielding of a lion tamer.

In the last months of Krohn's rule, rumour followed rumour, the club was divided, the players could not put their game together.

When Netzer arrived, he found the club in a sorry state and he was only able to put it back in order because the HSV players respected him as a man who knew the pressures at their place of work on a Saturday afternoon. This knowledge, plus his ambition, were Netzer's only qualification for the job at the time.

When Netzer arrived, he had the advantage that the club, with its rich backers and potentially high level of support, could hardly sink any lower. Netzer plays this aspect down today: "The way things were, it looked as if they could only get worse."

However HSV were back at the top within a year. It almost sounds as if he is trying to build up a personal myth when he says: "I quite naively did a number of things which I believed needed to be done."

As if he had taken incredible risks in those first months he says: "These things were completely injustified in terms of economic risk. I only realised this later." But Netzer's moves were far cannier than he makes out. He signed Yugoslav trainer Branko Zebec, the right man at the right time. Netzer describes Zebec as the most important man in the club. He signed a number of new players and, with Hartwig and Hrubesch in particular he showed a flair for successful investments.



Netzer: day-to-day business at Hamburg SV.
(Photo: Wilfried Witters)

He persuaded Kevin Keegan to prolong his contract for a season. He could only do this because he knew how to deal with the sensitive souls of professional footballers.

The final reason for the HSV and Netzer comeback: Netzer remained true to the profession in which as a player he had shown a flair for moneymaking. He was the first German footballer to charge DM5,000 an hour for signing autographs.

Even so, his flair for moneymaking let him down a few times. He had to sell his discotheque and restaurant in Moenchengladbach and his taxi firm made losses.

But he remained true to his motto: courage to take risks.

Netzer signed for Moenchengladbach at the age of 18. His salary then was DM160 a month. Ten years later he was a millionaire. He acquired his millions not by his artistry on the park but by skilful and systematic selling of his famous name.

He charged high prices for autograph signing and endorsing products, conscientiously obeying the laws of supply and demand.

He says: "I don't see anything discreditable in this. I benefited from it, and my business partners certainly did not lose by it either."

Netzer's bluntness would be surprising if his sporting and personal career did not almost oblige him to dispense with understatements and false modesty: 35-year-old Netzer has millions in the bank — a fact which allows him to work for a salary at HSV which "does not reflect my real value."

In the past Netzer had a reputation for being shy and taciturn but his sporting achievements have boosted his confidence: he was a member of the West German World Cup winning squad in 1974, holds a European Nations' Cup winner's medal, two German and two Spanish league championship winner's medals, one German and one Spanish cup winner's medal.

Netzer's playing career did not end on a very high note. Real Madrid released him because, in his own words, was too old. He then played in Switzerland and though he enjoyed it he admits that he did not play especially well.

Today Netzer can perhaps even count himself lucky that HSV appointed him Krohn's successor, though he was not one of the 47 applicants. Once again, he is enjoying success in football and does not need to live off the past.

Netzer will hardly be able to reform the West German professional football scene. A city like Hamburg needs stars to draw in the big crowds. This means in turn that the leading clubs have to establish a sound economic base.

Clubs in the big cities are relatively sure of sporting success because they can afford to pay top players and can offer their own young players good pay.

Netzer's motto is mathematical realism, especially as first team players these days cost millions on the transfer market. But expensive signings do not guarantee the club will win the league. Netzer remembers this well from his days at Moenchengladbach under team manager Hennes Weisweiler, who recently left Cologne FC to manage New York Cosmos.

Nonetheless, Netzer and his manager colleagues will change the nature of the football business. This seems certain.

Perhaps professional football will then at last admit that it is about money and business and that sport comes a very poor second. *Klaus Schuster*

(Wirtschaftswoche, 25 April 1980)



Agony and ecstasy

Hamburg SV are through to the final of the European Cup soccer competition, thanks to their 5-1 home win against Real Madrid in the second leg of their home-and-away semi-final. They lost the first match 0-2 in Madrid, but go through on goal total. Real Madrid's Vicente del Bosque (left) shows the pain as the big electronic scoreboard behind him tells the story. At right, Hrubesch (left) and Kaltz of Hamburg. Hamburg's opponents in the final, to be played in Madrid, are the English side, Nottingham Forest, who eliminated the Dutch team, Ajax, in their semi-final. (Photos: dpa)